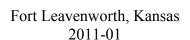A SUCCESS STORY OF PHILIPPINE COUNTERINSURGENCY:
A STUDY OF BOHOL

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army
Command and General Staff College in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
General Studies

by

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14. ABSTRACT

The Philippine government has been battling a communist insurgency since 1932. Although it was defeated in 1954, it re-emerged in 1968. This new brand of Maoist insurgency has since persisted. At present, it is a major threat to the national security of the Philippines with nationwide influence having both a political and a military arm.

The Philippine government, recognizing the gravity of the problem, issued in 2001 the National Internal Security Plan which is a whole of government approach to address insurgency. For its part, the Armed Forces of the Philippines had tried different approaches. These approaches range from traditional military operations to non-traditional ones which require close coordination with other government agencies and the civilian sector. The military has since embarked on counterinsurgency programs in winning the hearts and mind of the people. There were significant gains in the Armed Forces of the Philippines' counterinsurgency operations but such are not decisive to finally put an end to the longest running insurgency in Asia. Certain gaps are to be identified and filled in order to launch effective programs and operations that would fast-track the defeat of insurgency in the Philippines.

With the recent launching of the new Internal Peace and Security Plan dubbed as *Bayanihan* on 1 January 2011, it is both timely and necessary to determine an efficient way to defeat the communist insurgents. Recognizing the recent success of Bohol province in the Philippines in transforming it from an insurgent hotbed in 2001 to an insurgent-free prime tourist destination in 2010, this study endeavors to answer the primary question: ―What is an effective counterinsurgency framework to defeat the communist insurgency in the Philippines?"

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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

A SUCCESS STORY OF PHILIPPINE COUNTERINSURGENCY: A STUDY OF BOHOL, Lieutenant Colonel Ernesto C. Torres Jr., 98 pages.

The Philippine government has been battling a communist insurgency since 1932. Although it was defeated in 1954, it re-emerged in 1968. This new brand of Maoist insurgency has since persisted. At present, it is a major threat to the national security of the Philippines with nationwide influence having both a political and a military arm.

The Philippine government, recognizing the gravity of the problem, issued in 2001 the National Internal Security Plan which is a whole of government approach to address insurgency. For its part, the Armed Forces of the Philippines had tried different approaches. These approaches range from traditional military operations to non-traditional ones which require close coordination with other government agencies and the civilian sector. The military has since embarked on counterinsurgency programs in winning the hearts and mind of the people. There were significant gains in the Armed Forces of the Philippines' counterinsurgency operations but such are not decisive to finally put an end to the longest running insurgency in Asia. Certain gaps are to be identified and filled in order to launch effective programs and operations that would fast-track the defeat of insurgency in the Philippines.

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Lastly, I would like to thank the Almighty for guiding me through all the phases of this study. He is the source of my wisdom and strength.

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ACRONYMS

AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines
ASG	Abu Sayyaf Group
BCCI	Bohol Chamber of Commerce and Industry
BEPO	Bohol Employment and Placement Office
BIN	*Barangay* Intelligence Net
BIPC	Bohol Investment Promotion Center
BIRSP	Belgian Integrated Agrarian Reform Support Program
BLISS	Bohol Local Integrated Security System
BPDP	Bohol Provincial Development Program
BPRMO	Bohol Poverty Reduction Management Office
BSS	*Barangay* Security System
BTRIP	Bohol Tourism Road Improvement Project
CAFGU	Citizen Armed Force Geographical Unit
CARHRIHL	Comprehensive Agreement on Respect of Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law
CIVAC	Civic Action
CLEC	Coastal Law Enforcement Council
CMO	Civil Military Operations
COIN	Counterinsurgency
CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
DPWH	Department of Public Works and Highways
GF	Guerilla Front
GRP	Government of the Republic of the Philippines

IBP	Integrated Bar of the Philippines
IPSP	Internal Peace and Security Plan
ISO	Internal Security Operation
ITDS	Integrated Territorial Defense System
JI	Jemaah Islamiyah
JMC	Joint Monitoring Committee
LAELEP	Legal Assistance for Effective Law Enforcement Program
LGA	Local Government Agency
LGU	Local Government Unit
LGDP	Local Governance for Development Program
LHP	Let Us Help Bohol Program
LIFFE	Livelihood Integrated for Food and Family Enhancement
LMB	Local Monitoring Board
LPF	Local Peace Forum
LTFRB	Land Transportation Franchising Regulatory Board
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NDF	National Democratic Front
NDSC	National Development Support Command
NEDA	National Economic Development Authority
NGO	Non- Government Organizations
NISP	National Internal Security Plan
NPA	New People's Army
NSO	National Statistics Office
ODA	Official Development Assistance

OPAPP	Office of the Presidential Assistant for Peace Process
PA	Philippine Army
PAHRDF	Philippines-Australia Human Resource Development Facility
PIP	Public Information Patrol
PO	People's Organizations
POC	Peace and Order Council
PPOC	Provincial Peace and Order Council
PRC	Professional Registration Commission
PRMF	Provincial Roads Management Facility
QRT	Quick Response Team
SOT	Special Operations Team
SPIN	Subcontracting Partners for Innovation
SPSG	Southern Philippines Secessionist Group
STARS	Skills Trainings Advocating Reliance and Self-Employment
TRADOC	Training and Doctrine Command

ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to develop a framework for the effective conduct of counterinsurgency operations in the Philippines. The framework is intended to support the new Internal Peace and Security Plan of the Armed Forces of the Philippines which was launched on 1 January 2011. The framework would be derived through a case study of a successful counterinsurgency operation in the Philippines. The case in consideration is that of Bohol, one of the eighty provinces of the Philippines. The province was an insurgent hotbed in 2000 that has been transformed into a prime tourist destination in the country in just a span of ten years. In March 2010, the province was declared insurgent free.[1]

The counterinsurgency success in the province was primarily because of the holistic approach introduced by the provincial government, good governance and convergence of efforts of all stakeholders.[2] The success of Bohol has since came to be known as the Miracle of Bohol. Identifying the framework with which the counterinsurgency programs in the province were implemented would reinforce the existing knowledge of various stakeholders in counterinsurgency and increase their chances of success.

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[1]Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Civil Military Operations, OJ7, Armed Forces of the Philippines, *After Activity Report* (Camp Aguinaldo, Quezon City, Philippines, June 2010), 1.

[2]Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Civil Military Operations, OJ7, Armed Forces of the Philippines, *CMO Best Practices: Bohol and Cebu* (Camp Aguinaldo, Quezon City, Philippines, July 2010), 1.

To set the right perspective in understanding this study, chapter 1 discusses the contemporary insurgency threats in the Philippines and focuses on the communist insurgency which is the primary threat confronting Bohol. Then, a description of Bohol's road to peace follows. The different counterinsurgency plans that were implemented through the decades-long Philippine insurgency are also briefly discussed. With this background, the readers would have a better understanding on the significance of the study.

Contemporary Philippine Insurgencies

The Philippines is confronting three main threat groups. These are the Communist Party of the Philippines which espouses a communist ideology; the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, which is fighting a secessionist struggle in the southern Philippines; and the Abu Sayyaf Group, an Islamic fundamentalist group said to have links with Jemaah Islamiyah and Al-Qaeda.

Among these threats, the Communist Party of the Philippines is considered the most dangerous because of the breadth of its influence and the seriousness of its political struggle. As of 2010, the Communist Party maintains 48 guerilla fronts situated in 943 out of 41,995 total *barangays* countrywide. It has approximately 3,778 regular fighters dispersed in the different guerilla fronts, not to mention its force multipliers in the form of part-time auxiliaries provided by the local militias and organizations. On the political front, the communist party has reportedly gained seven seats in Congress along with

various local-level positions since the 2004 elections.[3] Hence, despite Bohol being declared insurgency-free in March 2010, the province still has to contend with an active insurgency and the possibility of their re-incursion in to the province is real.

Other insurgent threats are the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the Abu Sayyaf. These groups are concentrated only in certain parts of Mindanao Island. Because of this localization, their operations do not substantially affect the entire country. While the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the Abu Sayyaf threats create considerable noise, the communist party still commands a wider influence and is therefore considered the primary threat.[4]

Relatedly, two major factors affect the ability of the government to address the above mentioned threats. These are the weak economy and corruption in the government. The economy under the new president Benigno Aquino III (June 2010 to present) faces budget shortfalls in the near term, but has had little difficulty issuing debt both locally and internationally to finance the deficits. Aquino's first budget emphasizes education and other social spending programs, relying on the private sector to finance important infrastructure projects. Weak tax collection in recent years limits the government's ability

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[3]Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, OG2, Philippine Army, ―Threat Groups in the Philippines.‖ Briefing to Intelligence Officer Basic Course Students, Metro Manila, Philippines, 2010.

[4]Adolfo Espuelas, ―Examining the Capacity of the Philippine Army Enlisted Corps to Accomplish the Government's Counterinsurgency Strategy‖ (Master's Thesis, United States Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2008), 2.

to address major challenges.[5] This dire economic condition of the country has fueled anti-government sentiments that breed insurgency.

On corruption, the Philippines rank number 134 out of 178 countries in the Transparency International Ranking in Corruption based on 2010 survey.[6] Despite government efforts to curb it, corruption remains a serious problem for the country. It is considered as one of the most serious barriers in overcoming poverty which is a root cause of insurgency. It jeopardizes good governance resulting in the depletion of government resources intended for rural development, thus compounding the military's difficulty in dealing with insurgency. Corruption is one of the causes of public dissatisfaction that pushes people to join the insurgency movement.

Communist Party as the Primary Threat

The Communist Party of the Philippines has been waging a Maoist style insurgency against the Philippine government since 1968. Its ultimate goal is to overthrow the legitimate government of the Philippines through the conduct of protracted guerilla warfare. The concept is to mobilize many of the masses or the lower strata of society, considering that many Filipinos live in poverty. In fact, the disparities of wealth in the Philippines are quite striking. The wealthiest ten percent of Filipino families control more than a third of the country's gross domestic product.

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[5]CIA.gov, CIA World Fact Book, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rp.html#top (accessed 13 February 2011).

[6]Transparency.org, Transparency International Corruption Perception Index 2010, http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2010/results (accessed 25 April 2011).

The communist party intends to overthrow the Philippine government through a combination of political and armed struggle using three main forces. These three main forces are: first, the Communist Party of the Philippines which serves as the organizational brain of the revolution. It provides the political leadership to the entire revolutionary movement. Likewise, it controls and provides direction to the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front. The New People's Army is the military arm of the party tasked to carry out the protracted war through the conduct of armed struggle. The communist party believes that while the New People's Army complements the ideological, political and organizational efforts, its ultimate role is to deliver the final blow when the political struggle has ripened; and, third, is the National Democratic Front which is the shield of the revolution. As an umbrella organization to the communist party, the front seeks to organize the various sectoral groups, non-government organizations and other people's organization with the task of advancing its legally disguised programs. It also runs the insurgency-based propaganda machinery. Through the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, and the National Democratic Front, the insurgents assert their influence and control on the *barangays* (villages).[7]

<div align="center">Battle for Control of the Barangays</div>

The communist party's twin strategies of protracted war and encircling the cities from the countryside suggest that their central efforts will be focused on battling for control of the *barangays*. The Philippines has 41,995 *barangays* nationwide. Battling for

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[7]Espuelas, 5.

control of the *barangays* is important in forming the building blocks for the insurgency's political and military growth. The *barangay* is also important because it symbolizes life and sustainment for the armed insurgent group. It is where insurgents get most, if not all, of their logistical needs. Insurgents can also obtain protection from *barangay* sympathizers who occasionally serve as ―eyes and ears," forewarning them of any advancing government troops. The *barangay* also serves as a recruitment and training base. Likewise, the militias imbedded in the *barangays* also serve as force multipliers. Even in providing simple support services such as messengers, the *barangays* provide the insurgents with essential manpower. Thus, every guerilla will naturally gravitate to the *barangays* for their survival.

In controlling the *barangays,* the party establishes a ―shadow government" parallel to the legitimate *barangay* government. In a clandestine manner, it runs the affairs of the *barangay*, dispenses requisite justice, and extracts revolutionary taxes from its people.

It can be deduced that the strength of the communist insurgents is measured not only in terms of the size of its armed regulars but by the extent of its political influence as the number of communist-influenced *barangays* would indicate. The challenge therefore is on how to effectively isolate the insurgents from the *barangays* and deprive them of that critical source of support.[8] The Bohol Provincial Government has been successful in this aspect for the past ten years.

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[8]Espuelas, 4-8.

Bohol's Road to Peace

Bohol derived its name from the word *Bool*. Bohol hosted the signing of the treaty

of friendship in 1565 between Datu Sikatuna, a native chieftain, and Miguel Lopez de

Legaspi of Spain. That event became known as the blood compact or *Sandugo* in Tagalog

(Philippine national language). To honor this occasion, then Philippine President Elpidio

Quirino established the *Order of Sikatuna*, a presidential decoration conferred upon

diplomats. By virtue of Act 2711 on 10 March 1917, Bohol became a province and is the

10th largest island of the Philippines. Located in central Philippines, the province

comprises one city, 47 municipalities, and 1,109 *barangays* which are divided into three

congressional districts. It has a land area of 411,726 hectares and a population of

1,101,600 people. Recently, one of the counterinsurgency successes in the Philippines

was prosecuted in the province of Bohol. It followed a strategy of building legitimacy on

the population which became known as the ―Bohol model." Initially, the strategy was not

a part of the national strategy, but was soon adopted nationwide.[9]

The present peaceful environment of Bohol has contributed immensely in the

progress and development of the province. And this is attributed, especially the gains in

the counter insurgency campaign in Bohol, to the convergent efforts of its stakeholders

which paved the way to the clearing of all communist guerilla fronts in the province.

Today, Bohol has become the delight of tourists and visitors alike. And the

boholanos finally found what they have always longed for: a peaceful environment, ripe

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[9]Jonathan P. Hastings and Maj Krishnamurti Mortela, ―The Strategy-Legitimacy Paradigm: Getting it Right in the Philippines" (Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 2008), 59.

for economic growth and development.[10] The favorable condition of Bohol is a stark contrast to what it was prior to year 2001, the year when a comprehensive peace and development program was implemented in the province. One could hardly imagine that it was, just a decade ago, a province wallowing in poverty and beset with insurgency-related problems.

In 2001, Bohol was suffering from widespread poverty that was further complicated by a growing local communist insurgency problem. Neither one was necessarily the cause or effect of the other, but together they complemented and fed on each other to give local governance a headache.

The poverty incidence of Bohol rose from 43.1 percent in 1997 to 53.6 percent in 2001 in terms of population. This made Bohol the 16th among the country's top 20 poorest provinces in 2001, notoriously known as Club 20. And, using the issue of poverty, 305 out of the 1,109 *barangays* (or 30 percent of the total) were in various stages of insurgency: threatened, infiltrated or influenced.[11]

To understand the current situation and state of affairs of the province of Bohol, it is best to look at historical data particularly on insurgency related parameters vis-à-vis the economic indicators in the province beginning 2001.

Comparing these statistics with some economic parameters such as poverty incidence and tourist arrivals (see figure 1), from a poverty incidence of 53.6 percent in

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[10]Governor Erico B Aumentado, ―Poverty Reduction Program for Peace and Development: The Bohol Response to Insurgency Challenge," 10 August 2007, http://tubagbohol.mikeligalig.com/bohol-facts-phone-nos-addresses/bohol's-response-to-the-insurgency-challenge/ (accessed 4 February 2011).

[11]Ibid.

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2001, this went down to 28.4 percent in 2010. On the other hand, tourist arrival increased from 90,000 per annum in 2001 to more than 500,000 per annum in 2010 and still increasing at an exponential rate.[12] This illustrates the correlation of poverty and insurgency. As poverty worsen, the insurgency situation gets more problematic. On the other hand, the economy improves with a decrease in poverty incidence.

Figure 1.   Security and Economic Chart
Source: Romeo Brawner, *Engaging the Local Chief Executives: The Bohol Experience* (Bohol, Philippines, 2011).

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[12]Romeo Brawner, *Engaging the Local Chief Executives: The Bohol Experience* (Bohol, Philippines, 2011), 2.

In the period prior to the defeat of insurgency in Bohol, the communist insurgents in the province committed daring atrocities such as ambuscades of police and military troops, raids on detachments, assassinations of government officials, and sabotage of business equipment. Among the more notorious New People's Army attacks in the province was the 1999 raid in Batuan, a municipality of Bohol. On 11 June 1999, the police detachment in Batuan was raided by approximately 200 insurgents and carted away seventy assorted high-powered firearms.

Also, in 23 June 1999, the insurgents burned more than a million pesos worth of heavy equipment of a construction firm in Imelda, Ubay, Bohol because the owner refused to give in to the extortion demand of the communists, which they term as revolutionary taxation. Likewise, in 11 October 1999, the *barangay* head of San Vicente, Ubay, Bohol was killed by the communists because of his overt support to the government forces.[13]

The alarming poverty situation and the disturbing threats of ideology-based conflicts to the economic potentials of the province prompted the local leaders and the stakeholders to draft a peace and development framework that is centered on poverty reduction.[14] The counterinsurgency campaign plans that were launched by earlier administration to address the insurgency problem from President Marcos (1970s) to President Arroyo (2000s) were taken into consideration in the drafting of the Bohol peace and development plan. The following section discusses briefly counterinsurgency plans

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[13]302nd Infantry Brigade, Philippine Army (Bohol Internal Security Operations Campaign Briefing, 2006), 7.

[14]Aumentado, ―The Bohol Response to Insurgency Challenge.‖

OPLAN *Katatagan*, OPLAN *Lambat-Bitag*, OPLAN *Makabayan*, OPLAN *Balangai*, OPLAN *Bantay-Laya*, and OPLAN *Bayanihan*.

Philippine Counterinsurgency Plans (Marcos to Present)

Right after the declaration of martial law, the former dictator Marcos launched intensive military operations to ―nip in the bud‖ the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People‗s Army, which were established in 1968 and 1969 respectively. Unable to achieve its objective, even as the country was under martial law and human rights violations were mounting, the Marcos regime launched in 1982 what it described as a more comprehensive and coordinated counterinsurgency program, OPLAN *Katatagan* (steadfastness), to neutralize and destroy the political infrastructure of the communist party. By then, the Marcos dictatorship was already desperately clinging to power while the struggles of the broad anti-dictatorship movement is gaining momentum and the communist party had grown considerable in size and influence. The final years of the Marcos dictatorship, from 1982 to 1985, were the worst in terms of violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. During the fourteen years of martial law, more than 120,000 individuals were arbitrarily arrested and detained, around 769 disappeared, and approximately 1,500 were victims of extra-judicial executions.

The Armed Forces of the Philippine‗s counterinsurgency programs did not end with the ouster of the Marcos dictatorship. In 1987, the Aquino administration unleashed its ―sword of war‖ through OPLAN *Lambat-Bitag* (fly-trap). With *Lambat Bitag*, the Armed Forces of the Philippines implemented a ―low intensity conflict‖ strategy, which is consistent with the ―proxy war‖ approach of the United States Armed Forces. An important aspect of the low intensity conflict is the utilization of paramilitary groups,

particularly the citizens' Armed Forces geographical units and vigilante groups such as the *alsa masa* in military operations. After intensive military operations, citizen Armed Forces were tasked with preventing the return of communist insurgents while AFP units conduct military operations in other areas.[15]

General Fidel V. Ramos, who served as the Armed Forces of the Philippines' chief of staff and defense secretary during the Aquino administration, made further adjustments to *Lambat Bitag*. He presided over the design and implementation of OPLAN *Lambat Bitag* I, II, III, IV up to the time he was president from 1992 to 1998. Particular to these programs was the ―total approach‖ to counterinsurgency. With the total approach, emphasis was given to psychological warfare and intelligence operations. This approach is a combination of intelligence operations to identify target areas and individuals, massive military operations; and offers of amnesty and capitulation. Under the Ramos administration, the Armed Forces of the Philippines formed special operations teams for psychological warfare and intelligence operations.

On the other hand, the Ramos administration entered into agreements that defined the framework and conduct of the peace talks between the government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Communist Party of the Philippines. The Estrada administration came up with OPLAN *Makabayan* (nationalistic) in 1998 and OPLAN *Balangai* (villages) in 2000. The strategy of concentrating heavy troop deployments and conducting intensive and relentless military operations in priority areas where the Armed Forces of the Philippines assessed as strongholds of the communist insurgents, Moro

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[15]Ecumenical Movement for Justice and Peace, *OPLAN Bantay Laya, A Primer* (Manila, Philippines, 2006), 4-5.

Islamic Liberation Front, or Abu Sayyaf group was employed. The Estrada administration launched heavy military operations against the Abu Sayyaf and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. But by 2001 Estrada was ousted in a people power uprising putting Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo in Malacanang.[16]

The Arroyo administration replaced *Balangai* with OPLAN *Bantay Laya* (guarding freedom). *Bantay Laya* was launched in January 2002. The strategic goal of *Bantay Laya* was to decisively defeat insurgent armed groups in order to attain and maintain peace and security for national development. The medium-term objectives were: to pre-empt the Abu Sayyaf group resurgence by maintaining Armed Forces of the Philippines' presence; to reduce communist affected areas, manpower, and firearms and dismantle its politico-military structures; and, to degrade the military capability of the southern Philippines secessionist groups.

In its documents, the Armed Forces of the Philippines revealed that one major change it instituted in *Bantay Laya* was to focus its operations against the communist insurgents. By 2003, the military identified thirteen priority areas in seven regions namely, Ilocos-Cordillera, Central Luzon, Southern Tagalog, Bicol, Bohol in Central Visayas, Caraga, Compostela Valley in Southern Mindanao. Other changes included the strengthening of coordination between and among military area commands and government units; and reorienting intelligence operations towards ―target research."[17] *Bantay Laya* was implemented until 31 December 2010.

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[16]Ecumenical Movement for Justice and Peace, *OPLAN Bantay Laya*, 6.

[17]Ibid., 7.

During the latter part of *Bantay Laya* implementation, former President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, ex- Defense Secretary Gilberto Teodoro Jr. and former National Security Adviser Norberto Gonzales strongly asserted that the Bohol model has become a template of the national government in fighting poverty and insurgency at the same time.[18]

A new campaign plan was launched and implemented on 1 January 2011. This is the internal peace and security plan dubbed as OPLAN *Bayanihan*, which takes its name from the Filipino word meaning cooperation. The plan contains the strategic objectives and guidelines for counterinsurgency. However, *Bayanihan* falls short of coming up with a detailed plan for its procedural execution. Thus, the Armed Forces of the Philippines' Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, Major General Emmanuel Bautista said, ―We will continue with the consultations to improve the campaign plan."[19] This study will feed in to such improvements on the *bayanihan* by presenting a definite framework that may serve as a guide in addressing communist insurgency threats in the Philippines.

<u>The Problem</u>

The Philippine government has been battling a communist insurgency since 1932. Although it was defeated in 1954, it re-emerged in 1968. This new brand of Maoist insurgency has since persisted. At present, it is a major threat to the national security of

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[18]Cogtonganon.socialgo.com, ―Winning war vs. insurgency, poverty highlights guv's SOPA," http://cogtonganons.socialgo.com/forum/topic/172/page/1 (accessed 4 February 2011).

[19]Alexis Romero, ―Bayanihan to replace Bantay laya," *Philippine Star*, 20 December 2010, http://www.philstar.com/Article.aspx?articleId=640828& publicationSubCategoryId=67 (accessed 23 December 2010).

the Philippines with nationwide influence having both a political and a military arm. The primary government agency confronting insurgency is the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

The Philippine government, recognizing the gravity of the problem, issued in 2001 the National Internal Security Plan which is a whole of government approach to address insurgency. In its attempt to defeat insurgency, the Armed Forces of the Philippines had tried different approaches. These approaches range from traditional military operations to non-traditional ones which require close coordination with other government agencies and the civilian sector. The military has since embarked on counterinsurgency programs in winning the hearts and minds of the people. There were significant gains in the Armed Forces' counterinsurgency operations but such are not decisive yet to finally put an end to the longest running insurgency in Asia. Due to the dynamic nature of insurgency and the changing operational environment, the most current counterinsurgency framework needs to be identified.

<u>The Research Question</u>

Given the problem as described, and with the recent launching of *Bayanihan* on 1 January 2011, it is both timely and necessary to determine an efficient way to defeat the insurgents in influenced areas. Recognizing the recent success of Bohol province in the Philippines in driving away the insurgents, my primary question is ―What is an effective counterinsurgency framework to defeat the communist insurgency in the Philippines?‖

As a foundation to the study of the Bohol phenomenon it is imperative to know, What is the condition in Bohol prior to its transformation to a peaceful and economically progressive province? The transformation of Bohol, which started in 2001, was brought

about by certain initial actions. Hence, it would be necessary to ask, ―What are the initiatives that spearheaded the Bohol transformation?"

The initiatives led to numerous programs to address the multifarious problems that the province was confronting. It begs to ask, ―What are the significant programs that were implemented that had an impact on counterinsurgency." Identifying and understanding these programs is key to this study. Upon identification of such programs, there is a need to determine how they contribute to the counterinsurgency process.

An important factor in the study is to determine the impact of the programs to the general situation of Bohol. ―What are the effects of the programs that were implemented by the government of Bohol on the insurgency situation?" The answer to this question will be the basis in determining what programs should be prioritized in the implementation of an effective counterinsurgency program.

In conceptualizing the counterinsurgency framework, it would be necessary to determine the counterinsurgency challenges that the framework would be applied to. Hence, the study answers the question, ―What are the present and future insurgency challenges that the Philippines is confronting?" This question would test the validity of the determined framework in addressing current and future insurgency challenges.

<u>Assumptions</u>

In the conduct of the study, three assumptions were considered. First, is that the communist insurgency threat will continue to be the largest threat to the country's national security, based on the magnitude of anti-government operations being carried out, which is on a national scope. Secondly, the Armed Forces of the Philippines will continue to be challenged by inadequate resources that will hinder its capability to

address fully the threat of insurgency. This condition will not only prevail in the Armed Forces but will mark the whole Philippine government as well, which, because of the limited amount of resources available on its disposal, will continue to provide for social welfare and development programs and will not prioritize security concerns. The last assumption is that the efforts to resume peace talks between the Philippine government and the political fronts of the communist insurgents will continue, but despite any progress that will be achieved, no immediate impact will be felt in terms of the security situation in the Philippines.

Limitations

The following are the limitations for this research. First, the researcher because of the nature of this study and as compliance for the researcher's requirements for Masters of Military Arts and Science, time available for research will be critical. The study spans a 10-month period tied to the CGSC curriculum. There are also challenges in retrieving first-hand data for this research from the researcher's home country, not only because of the distance but also because the province of Bohol is a rural area in the Philippines.

Furthermore, the methodology for this research will include not only gathering of secondary data but will also require interviews with respondents and critical actors, which will be done through correspondence. As such, the conduct of the interview itself will be problematic which may compromise the quality of the information that will be obtained.

The length of experience and exposure of the researcher in counterinsurgency operations may work to his advantage and credibility to initiate this research. However, this may reflect a bias on certain specific counterinsurgency operations with which the

author is familiar with. Throughout the research, however, the researcher has tried to proceed with the study with much objectivity and fairness in gathering the information and analyzing the data gathered.

<u>Scope and Delimitations</u>

This study looked into the different strategies implemented by the local government of the Bohol to combat poverty, corruption, and address the prevailing social dilemmas in the province. Specifically, the study identified the strategies and programs that led to the improvement of the security situation and the total eradication of insurgency in the province.

The period covered for this research span the years from President Marcos in 1968 up to the present. However, it focused from 2001 to 2010, during the incumbency of Governor Erico B. Aumentado as the local chief executive of the Province of Bohol. It was Governor Aumentado who spearheaded the efforts of the provincial government to address existing social issues in the province. His administration came up with a strategy which has been the underlying guide of all social development programs of the provincial government throughout his nine years of tenure.

This period is also significant for counterinsurgency operations in Bohol. In March 2010, the primary responsibility over the security of the province of Bohol was turned over by the Armed Forces of the Philippines to the local police and law enforcement elements, declaring the province as insurgency-free. This proves the success of the whole program initiated by Gov. Aumentado before his term as governor ended in May 2010.

Likewise, the data for this study are confined with the efforts of the local government of Bohol to initiate development within the province. Similar situations in other local governments in the Philippines may be included in this study but only for purposes of reference and for the review of relevant related literature.

This study considered relevant political actors behind the initiatives for development in the province of Bohol, but did not include information on the political dynamics in the area and other information irrelevant to the output of this research.

Significance of the Study

The most critical characteristics of Philippine communist insurgency have already changed. As an organization, the insurgents are no longer fighting a war of ideology, of communism trying to take over democracy, but an insurgency that has taken root in poverty and social conditions besetting the Philippines today. It is easier for the members of the movement to espouse a cause and to speak against the government because of its inability to address existing social issues, instead of espousing principles and theories that are alien to the Filipino culture.

What comes with the change in the face of the war is a fresh take on how to approach it. Throughout the decades, the Armed Forces of the Philippines, together with other law enforcement organizations of the government has implemented varying strategies during the different phases of the campaign against insurgency. Timely changes and adjustments into the military's approach of the war are necessary to ensure that appropriate solutions are provided to actual problems.

This study comes at a time with the assumption of a new government administration in the Republic of the Philippines. President Benigno S. Aquino III, also

the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, mandated the military to embark in a holistic approach in addressing the threats of insurgency, separatism, and terrorism in the Philippines. Thus the *Bayanihan* proceeds with approaching insurgency in a multi-faceted ‗whole-of-nation' approach involving all of the stakeholders in the issue of national peace and security, instead of the previous ‗whole-of-government' approach. Thus, not only will the military capitalize on civil-military operations, they are also tasked to engage deeper with the civil society and the general public to solicit their cooperation and support for counterinsurgency operations.

Towards this end, this research studies the case of the province of Bohol. This is an attempt to provide a framework and model for the Philippine counterinsurgency against the communists. What transpired in Bohol mainly during the first decade of the 21st century is the actualization of the theoretical arguments of this study that development contributes immensely to counterinsurgency operations.

The timing is appropriate for this study, given the new thrust of the Philippine government in dealing with the problem of insurgency. Also, the government calls on other local government units and other military units to take Bohol as an example for them to reform their counterinsurgency programs. In its analysis, this research pinpoints and identifies actual initiatives and programs that support counterinsurgency efforts. A synergy of these programs is determined in the form of a simple framework that may serve as a guide for Philippine counterinsurgents.

It can be argued that the counterinsurgency framework, which is presented in chapter 4, may not be applicable to the whole of the Philippines due to the country's cultural and demographic divergence. Nevertheless, the author, mindful of these realities,

was able to extract from the Bohol counterinsurgency experience specific concepts that could guide a local chief executive in leading his province or municipality in counterinsurgency. It is a broad and simple framework that any novice local chief executive, willing to take the lead in counterinsurgency, can easily understand, begin to work on, and modify as he deems necessary to suit the peculiarities of the condition in his province or municipality.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND STUDY

This chapter discusses the research materials that are relevant to the study. There is a wide range of resource materials on counterinsurgency. However, reference materials on the Bohol counterinsurgency is very limited .The Bohol counterinsurgency success is a relatively new phenomenon and the Philippine government has just recognized its successes. Hence there are not many references about it outside of the province.

Core Literature

The most significant references for this study, which the author classifies as core literature, are those documents obtained from the province of Bohol. Such documents include presentations and briefings made by the governor of Bohol himself, Erico Aumentado, and the reports submitted to him by the directors of the different provincial offices. These documents discuss in detail the Poverty Reduction for Peace and Development of Bohol. Specifically important among these documents is the Bohol provincial development plan.

The Bohol provincial development plan was the key to the eradication of insurgency in the province. The initiative was crafted by the local leaders and the stakeholders of Bohol in response to widespread poverty coupled with the upsurge of insurgency. The plan details the strategies employed by the province on alliance building, convergence, community organizing, capability-building, and reinvigorating the *bayanihan* (cooperative) spirit. The efforts resulted to something beyond the expectations

of the b*oholanos*.[20] These documents gave the author concise idea on how the

counterinsurgency programs of Bohol was conceptualized and to understand the

dynamics that characterized their implementation.

Outside of the Philippines, the only available reference material on the analysis of

Bohol counterinsurgency which aided this study was the thesis written by Major Jonathan

Hastings and Major Krishnamurti Mortela at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey,

California in 2008. This American-Filipino tandem completed a thesis entitled, ―The

Strategy-Legitimacy Paradigm: Getting it Right in the Philippines‖ which examines how

the counterinsurgency strategies developed in Basilan, Bohol, and Sulu address the

legitimacy problem. It underscores the importance of providing a long-term solution to

the insurgent problems by correcting the underlying issues of poverty, deprivation, and

lawlessness. In Basilan, Bohol, and Sulu, the Philippine government and its U.S. allies

successfully engineered what is described as the ―strategy-legitimacy nexus.‖ By

promoting the legitimacy of the Philippine government, the insurgent capabilities and

influence were substantially reduced by isolating them from the population. Using the

same framework, the three case studies demonstrate that while conditions in Mindanao

are very different, the case studies offer valuable lessons. These are applied to conducting

counterinsurgency in the region utilizing an indirect approach strategy that promotes

legitimacy through good governance, improved security, and socioeconomic conditions.[21]

Another core document is the new internal peace and security plan of the

Philippines, OPLAN *Bayanihan*. The plan provided the author the knowledge on how the

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[20]Aumentado, ―The Bohol Response to Insurgency Challenge.‖

[21]Hastings, i.

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Armed Forces of the Philippines would approach counterinsurgency for the next six years (2011 to 2016). The body of knowledge obtained from this document served as the basis in analyzing the viability and applicability of the counterinsurgency framework derived from the Bohol experience.

As an overview, *Bayanihan* presents a paradigm shift on how the Armed Forces view its mandate of protecting the people and the state from internal armed threats. The primary objective of the military's internal security operations shall be winning the peace rather than simply defeating the enemy.

Winning the peace provides the strategic guidance for the Armed Forces of the Philippines' new approach to peace and security. This is a shift from a predominantly militaristic solution to a people-centered security strategy that is founded on broad-based consultations and engagements with key stakeholders. Instead of only considering the immediate goal of diminishing the armed capability of threat groups, the Armed Forces choose to also focus on the long-term and more important effects of its military operations on the people and communities, their way of life, and well-being. In other words, peace is to be won for the people.

Moreover, a focus on winning the peace is likewise an acknowledgment that a purely military solution will never be enough to achieve peace. Unity and harmony of efforts with other stakeholders is essential. Inasmuch as the objective of military operations is not just to protect the state but also to protect the people, the people themselves must be active participants in the pursuit of peace and security.

Therefore, to win the peace, *Bayanihan*, from its planning to its implementation and evaluation shall be underpinned by two strategic approaches: the whole-of-nation

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approach and the people-centered security approach. The whole of nation approach is the framework that shall guide how the Armed Forces will implement *Bayanihan* while the people-centered approach under the broader frame of human security reflects the paradigm shift that the military has undertaken in this plan. In the *Bayanihan*, the Armed Forces seek to protect the people while at the same time support their capacity development and recognizing their indispensable role as partners in ensuring peace and security.[22]

Supporting Literature

The body of supporting literature for this study provided the background on the nature of counterinsurgency in the Philippines. It comprises of theses, newspaper publications, journals, military reports, and a document published by an organization consistently critical to the Philippine government, the Ecumenical Movement for Justice in the Philippines.

The Ecumenical Movement for Justice in the Philippines published in 2006 a primer on OPLAN *Bantay Laya.* The document presented a critical reportage of the effects of the various counterinsurgency campaign plans implemented in the Philippines from Marcos-era (1968) to Arroyo administration (2010). It provided an impartial point of view on the implementation and evolution of counterinsurgency plan throughout the existence of Maoist insurgency in the Philippines.

The theses written by the predecessors of the author at the US Command and General Staff College gave direction, determined the scope, and provided depth to the

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[22]Armed Forces of the Philippines*, Internal Peace and Security Plan: Bayanihan* (Camp Aguinaldo, Quezon City, Philippines, January 2011), 25.

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study. One is the thesis written by Lieutenant Colonel Roy Devesa entitled, ―An Assessment of the Philippine Counterinsurgency Operational Methodology.‖ It examined the Philippine government‘s accomplishments in implementing the clear-hold-consolidate-develop operational methodology under the National Internal Security Plan of 2001. Deficiencies and deviations were analyzed to determine the reasons for such, and their impact on the other major programs of the whole counterinsurgency operational methodology.[23] This thesis aided the author in evaluating Bohol counterinsurgency programs and initiatives.

Also, a thesis written by Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Parlade, ―An Analysis of the Communist Insurgency in the Philippines,‖ provided an in-depth understanding on the Philippine brand of communist insurgency through the presentation of its organization, leadership, ideology, strategy, and vulnerabilities. It offered an excellent historical foundation in the conduct of further analysis related to finally defeat the communist insurgency in the Philippines.[24] Another thesis which is entitled, ―Examining the Capacity of the Philippine Army‘s Enlisted Corps to Accomplish the Government‘s Counterinsurgency Strategy,‖ provided a better understanding of the Philippines‘ strategy of holistic approach in counterinsurgency. This approach is comparable to the interagency process.

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[23]Roy Devesa, ―An Assessment of the Philippine Counterinsurgency Operational Methodology‖ (Master‘s Thesis, Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2005).

[24]Antonio Parlade, ―An Analysis of the Communist Insurgency in the Philippines‖ (Master‘s Thesis, Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 2006).

Part of the supporting literature are the assessments, after action reviews, and reports provided by the Armed Forces of the Philippines. These documents provided the author the most current information on the status of communist insurgency and the counterinsurgency efforts in the Philippines.

To further support the conduct of research, newspaper accounts, periodicals, and actual communication with some of the main actors in the Bohol counterinsurgency were done. The body of literature, core and supporting, provided the author the analytical foundation to identify and synergize the significant counterinsurgency programs implemented in Bohol and come up with a Philippines counterinsurgency framework presented in chapter 4 of this study.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research examined the different programs for socio-economic development launched and implemented in the province of Bohol in the Philippines from 2001 to 2010, during the incumbency of Governor Aumentado. This chapter in particular discusses the research methodology utilized for this research. The different tools and techniques for data gathering and data analysis are discussed, as well as the actual procedure followed for gathering information.

This chapter also discusses the criteria established for assessing and evaluating the different programs for socio-economic development by the local government of Bohol and its impact on counterinsurgency operations of the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

Research Design

This is a descriptive research designed at explaining the role of socio-economic development as a tool against counterinsurgency using the case of the province of Bohol in the Philippines from 2001 to 2010. The study involves the examination of the situation in Bohol and the programs that influenced the positive changes in the province.

The descriptive design is appropriate for this research since the events being analyzed are events that had already transpired. It also seeks to prove if there is a causal relationship between socio-economic development and the successful counterinsurgency operations of the military. This research attempts to formulate a framework for

counterinsurgency operations in the Philippines, using the case of Bohol as a primary basis.

Selection of the Locale of the Study

The province of Bohol in the Philippines is among the recent provinces declared as insurgency free by the Philippine government, following the conclusion of the *OPLAN Bantay Laya II*, the internal security plan that has been in effect since the beginning of the Arroyo administration in year 2001.

It was during the three term governorship of Aumentado that a steadfast track towards social and economic improvement has been implemented in Bohol. At the end of his term, not only was there an improvement in the socio-economic landscape, but the repercussions of this program extended to have impact on the security situation in the province. This is due to the fact that the framework for development adopted by the local government included security concerns as well.

Thus, Bohol is one of the first successful stories of anti-insurgency campaign in the Philippines, but whose success cannot be placed upon the military's counterinsurgency efforts alone, but with the effort of the local government and other stakeholders for security as well. It is for this reason that Bohol was chosen as the subject of this research.

Data Gathering Procedure

The data involved in this research mostly came from the available records on the different socio-economic projects, platforms, strategies, and innovations implemented by the local government of Bohol from year 2001 to 2010. This study depended on existing

records of these projects available in the provincial government office, and other sources of public records. These materials include published secondary materials, technical reports, information sheets, fact sheets, modules, pamphlets, worldwide web sites, and web blogs.

Review and analysis of secondary literature and data were supported by interviews with key informants, which were necessary in order to extract enough data for the research. However, because of existing limitations for this research, actual interviews were, in most part, substituted by a survey of recent and previous interviews of these key informants as well as other official pronouncements from the institutions they represent throughout the time period given.

These key informants include the local government executive, commanders of military units in Bohol, heads of different social and economic development offices, heads of ad hoc institutions created specifically to address the existing social problems in Bohol, heads of peace and order councils, and members of civil society groups.

In the conduct of research, the author was able to interview over the telephone the key personality in the transformation of Bohol, Governor Aumentado. This gave the author a deeper understanding of the mindset of the top local chief executive of Bohol in implementing their counterinsurgency programs. Likewise, through electronic mail correspondence, the author was able to solicit the thoughts of Romeo Teruel, the director of the Bohol Planning and Development Office. He was one of the key actors in the conceptualization of the successful Bohol counterinsurgency programs and initiatives. He specifically shared his counterinsurgency experiences on what they tried in Bohol that did not work and how they learned from them which led eventually to the various programs

that became effective in defeating the insurgents in the province. He likewise shared his thoughts on the issue of corruption and how Bohol's effective governance was able to keep it to a minimum level.

The author was also able to interview one of the former brigade commanders of Bohol, Brigadier General Cesar Yano. He gave his counterinsurgency perspectives and expounded on the military's role in the interagency effort of Bohol to rid the province of insurgents.

Tools for Data Presentation and Analysis

The counterinsurgency framework derived from this study was based on the identification of significant policies, programs, and initiatives implemented by Bohol as it transformed from an impoverished and insurgent-infested province to an economically progressive prime tourist destination of the Philippines. From the myriad of counterinsurgency activities undertaken in Bohol, the author identified those that were highly significant and can be emulated by other provinces in the Philippines. Programs were described and their impacts on the counterinsurgency effort were determined.

The study presents the different significant programs and activities based on the strategies implemented by the Bohol local government. These strategies include alliance building, convergence, community organizing, capability building, and reinvigorating the *bayanihan* (cooperative) spirit.

Through careful analysis of these programs, a counterinsurgency framework was derived. It is the synergy of the efforts undertaken by the Bohol government digested into a six-point counterinsurgency framework.

The feasibility in the application of the framework Philippine-wide was likewise analyzed point by point in accordance with the strategies presented in OPLAN *Bayanihan*. Further analysis was made by identifying the current challenges of counterinsurgency and how these challenges may be addressed by the framework.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the significant findings in the study. The answers to four of the five secondary questions as mentioned in chapter 1 are contained in this chapter. These four questions are: What is the condition in Bohol prior to its transformation to a peaceful and economically progressive province?; What are the initiatives that spearheaded the Bohol transformation?; What are the significant programs that were implemented that had an impact on counterinsurgency?; and What are the effects of the programs that were implemented by the government of Bohol on the insurgency situation?

The chapter starts with the discussion of the roots of insurgency in Bohol. This is followed by the presentation of the overarching Bohol counterinsurgency strategy which is anchored on poverty reduction. Then, specific programs and initiatives are identified based on the different strategies employed by the local government of Bohol. Such strategies include alliance building, convergence, community organizing, capability building, and reinvigorating the *bayanihan* spirit and self-reliance.

The impact of the programs are determined and described in the section entitled transformation of Bohol. At the end of the chapter, the Bohol counterinsurgency framework is presented.

Roots of Bohol Insurgency

Poverty and hunger fed the insurgency on Bohol. The poor only earned an average of P600 a month ($15). The relative deprivation, which led to poverty, is seen as

a lack of access to a level of goods and services that are required for meaningful participation in society, a level which can and does change over space and time as circumstances evolve. Apart from abject poverty, deprivation in Bohol is widespread due to lack of employment and livelihood opportunities, non-participation in the political process, injustice, and human rights violations that all facilitated the conditions for insurgent recruitment.

To help analyze the level of deprivation, Bohol developed the provincial development monitoring system. There are twelve indicators to determine the level of basic, social, and other services that a local government unit down to the household level should offer. The twelve poverty indicators are: water source, sanitation, malnutrition, housing, income threshold, land tenure status, school dropouts, child mortality, crime incidence, unemployment, food threshold, and meals threshold. From these indicators, the Bohol government prioritized the most deprived indicators and matched them with the expertise and forte of funders.[25]

In the case of hinterland *barangay* San Vicente in Ubay municipality, for example, the village chief reported that during his first year in office there was no water, no electricity, and that economic hardships were due to poor agricultural yield. According to him, people in the *barangay* were forced to join the revolutionary movement because of poverty and the absence of any government intervention in the form of basic social

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[25]Hastings, 61.

services. These, he added, were even aggravated by the rebels' promise of economic benefits if the people joined the movement.[26]

Amid the poverty afflicting the province, the people kept on working themselves to the bone, but nothing happened. Frustration developed and, through the years, hopelessness. The government is perceived to be incapable of providing their needs, such as essential services and security. This lack of legitimacy provided the conditions ripe for recruitment by the communists. They also magnified the people's grievances and dissatisfaction for the government. As a result, in early 2002, there were about 283 armed insurgents organized into four fronts in the province. About three of every ten villages in Bohol were influenced by insurgency. Subsequently, the local communists launched violent attacks against government forces and facilities. They also conducted massive extortion on businesses and organized a propaganda campaign to discredit the government.[27]

<u>The Bohol Counterinsurgency Strategy</u>

The counterinsurgency strategy employed by Bohol is actually the result of lessons learned from what they did that did not work in the past. Romeo Teruel, the Director of Bohol Development Planning Office, cited some of those lessons,

> As political leaders were prone to avoiding conflict that would put their political hold of the locality to risk, local government officials had the tendency to leave the insurgency problem to the police and the military thinking that it was all a military problem that needed military solution. They found out that military

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[26]Eli C. Dalumpines, ―Government's ‗left hand' approach vs. insurgency yields positive results," *PIA Press Release*, 22 August 2007.

[27]Hastings, 60-62.

solution only piled up statistics on body count. For every body counted after each violent encounter, this leaves us one family bitter and angry with government.[28]

This particular experience brought the political leaders of Bohol to the realization that they, and not the military, had to take the lead role in the counterinsurgency effort in the province. The governor took the lead while the military and the police took a support role in the overall effort to defeat insurgency in Bohol.

Teruel likewise cited that political leaders also turned a blind eye on the revolutionary taxation to keep the peace in their locality until they became the victims themselves. He further shared,

> We tried reaching out to the leaders of the leftist cause-oriented groups and even to the New People's Army but that only emboldened them. They thought it a weakness on government side. But it is an approach that government cannot drop until today even if local government units say ―no more peace talks." I remember one time I asked BishopTumulak (Bishop of Bohol) to include me in the negotiation to reconsider the revolutionary tax demand of four cows a month to the family of one of our peace workers. We went up to the mountain to meet the NPA commander of the area. The week after thru the assistance of the Philippine government committee negotiating peace with the Communist Party of the Philippines, we were able to talk with Mr. Jalandoni (Communist Party negotiator) in the Netherlands who only gave feigned promise. Sensing we could not get favorable bargain, the Bishop advised my colleague to just give in to the demand. Of course the family did not and the following month, their house was raided by the insurgents and their trucks burned. Now Bishop Tumulak has a complete turnaround view of the insurgents.[29]

This provided the impetus to sway the support of the people of Bohol from the insurgents to local government leaders. Having the top religious leader in the province as an ally to counterinsurgency efforts made it easier to communicate to the people the evil nature of communist insurgents. Sympathy for the insurgents began to wane since then.

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[28]Romeo Teruel, Bohol Development Planning Office, Email correspondence with author, 3 May 2011.

[29]Ibid.

Teruel also stated that they used to rationalize some abuses by government troops but that only gave the insurgents material to agitate the masses to join them and march against the government. This experience necessitated the creation of civilian fact-finding missions in Bohol to find out the truth surrounding such reports in order that the incidents would not be exploited by the insurgents and similarly, that the erring government troops be duly punished, if warranted.

Also at first, Bohol local government set up the stage for battle in the media, thinking that counterinsurgency was all a battle of propaganda. But that did not stop poverty from engulfing the masses. That brought the local government to the realization that while the media could help, there is no other better pill than concrete programs that address poverty. So they designed the poverty reduction program. Teruel described their birth pains in implementing the program,

> It was difficult to get workers to go to the influenced *barangays* to implement poverty reduction projects. Every government employee, especially of the national government agencies, was afraid to go up the hinterland *barangays*. But through persistent appeal and explanation that the government needed to be physically present in those *barangays*, we were able to get a few volunteers. In time more volunteers adhered to the STP (serve the people) slogan and they now got fulfillment from living, eating and sleeping with the people.[30]

Given those experiences, the local leaders and the stakeholders of Bohol drafted a peace and development framework that is centered on poverty reduction with the goals of reducing poverty incidence by 50 percent in 2015 under their millennium development goals commitment. Along with the development thrust, the poverty reduction program is

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[30]Teruel, Email correspondence, 3 May 2011.

focused on attaining peace and security in the province.[31] According to Aumentado, ―all poverty reduction efforts are tied in with peace and development efforts. Poverty breeds unrest, and to address insurgency, one must first address poverty and deprivation."[32] Anchored on this belief, the Bohol local government initiated poverty alleviation programs in the province. As such, in July 2001, the Bohol government launched the Bohol Poverty Reduction Program to address the worsening situation. It was a crisis of some sort that provided the Bohol leaders an opportune time to build consensus. They knew that military intervention alone would not solve the communist insurgency problem.[33]

The first situation map that became the basis for the strategy coincidentally was an insurgency map depicting the level of communist influence in the countryside. Like other poorer provinces, Bohol put up an innovative local peace action plan. This tracked the areas needing immediate government intercession and allowed the province to focus on the 41 insurgency-influenced *barangays* in 20 municipalities within the communist insurgents' four guerilla fronts.[34]

The collaborative approach in waging a war versus the evils of communism gave birth to Team Bohol, where all government units and agencies shared and took part by

[31]Erico Aumentado, ―Poverty Reduction for Peace and Development: The Bohol Experience" (Lecture presented on the 5th Philippine Army Senior Leaders Conference, Fort Bonifacio, Manila, Philippines, 27 March 2008), 2.

[32]Erico Aumentado, *Sharing Bohol's Official Development Assistance (ODA) Experience* (Tagbilaran City, 23 November 2006), 5.

[33]Hastings, 62.

[34]Rey Anthony Chiu, ―Commentary: Bohol Poverty Reduction is Key to Insurgency Solution," *PIA Press Release,* 18 August 2007.

integrating their respective peace-promoting plans and conflict-sensitive programs and projects. As part of the strategy on building alliances and bridges for poverty reduction and anti-insurgency drives, they were also supported by the private sector and churches of various denominations.[35]

Resources to support the programs came from both internal and external sources. Led by the church and the military authorities, the local government channeled development funds into conflict-affected areas in far-flung *barangays* to regain government presence. This strategy was called ―counterparting." Bohol has to expend resources, too, and not rely purely on external support.[36]

Bohol thrives on agriculture and eco-tourism. Thus, boosting these industries was the challenge. Since Bohol was then overflowing with economic potentials, the provincial government worked for peace and development to ease poverty and put the insurgents out of business. They formed the Bohol poverty reduction management office and designated community development workers in conflict areas that were once a no man's land for sponsors of the official development assistance projects.[37]

The approach to poverty reduction is strategic. It is further guided by Bohol's new focus towards economic growth through Aumentado's Ten-Point Agenda: agriculture,

[35]Erico B. Aumentado, ―Poverty Reduction for Peace and Development: The Bohol Initiatives" (Paper Presented during the Local Peace and Security Assembly, Tagbilaran City, Bohol, 23 August 2007), http://www.bohol.gov.ph/LPSA.html (accessed 9 April 2011).

[36]Hastings, 63.

[37]Abe Cerojano, ―Bohol's priority: Population management now, progress next," *GMANews.TV*, 18 February 2008, http://www.gmanews.tv/story/80988/Bohols-priority-Population-management-progressnext-(1) (accessed 9 April 2011).

tourism, infrastructure, managing population growth, improving health and social wellbeing, attaining environmental sustainability, expanding economic opportunities, fostering creativity, peace and development in the communities, and better governance.[38]

Recognizing that the problem is multi-faceted, the population became the anchor on all decisions to ensure a solid political will that was built on consensus. Due to this broad representation of the people and massive consultations, the policies and programs generated were widely supported.[39]

To further empower the people, community organizations were used to facilitate the needs of the populace and, thus, further building the people's trust in the government. The whole strategy is founded on the –concept of ownership," i.e., since the people have a stake in the issues, their involvement is a must. In a sense, the Bohol model became a human security framework that leads to people-centered development. It respects the people's inherent capacities to make their own decisions and choices to achieve a quality of life consistent with their own aspirations.[40]

Apart from the concept of ownership, Bohol improved governance through the delivery of essential services and respect to basic rights of the people. The Bohol government reported in 2005 that through its trailblazing program on poverty, peace, and development, 16,928 new jobs were said to have been created; child malnutrition was addressed; and access to sanitary toilets, potable water sources, and education

[38]Hastings, 64.

[39]Office of the Press Secretary, –Bohol's Success vs. Insurgency a model for other regions to emulate–PGMA," 24 August 2007, http://www.pcoo.gov.ph/archives2007/aug24.htm (accessed 2 May 2011).

[40]Hastings, 65.

increased.[41] The implementation of several projects supported by local and national governments and international donors is testament to the commitment to address the problems in Bohol. These mega projects which are strategic to Bohol's economic development include the P2.1 billion upgraded Leyte-Bohol Interconnection Project Phase II which can generate an additional 80 megawatts to complete the 100 megawatts power generation for Bohol; the P2.380.billion Bohol Irrigation Project Stage II that can irrigate 5,300 hectares of rice land; and the P1.5 billion Bohol Circumferential Road Improvement Project Phase II.

To address the problem of non-participation on substantial issues affecting the province, the local government of Bohol also provided the venue for the discussion of issues to mitigate the grievances and the perceived political repression. Through the local peace forum, which is chaired by the bishop of Tagbilaran, Bohol, dialogues are being held to thresh-out local issues and concerns from the insurgents, their sympathizers, and the government side.[42] This initiative is in line with the presidential directive providing for the mechanics and operational structure for the localization of peace efforts to address the communist insurgency. The purpose is to enable the insurgents to participate in the democratic process of peace and development in the community.

Other projects in Bohol convey the message that the government cares for the welfare of the populace. These include programs for the rehabilitation and reintegration of insurgent returnees to enable them to become partners for reforms. As of 2008, there

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[41]Avigail Olarte, ―War and Peace in a Bohol barangay," *Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism*, 1 May 2007, http://pcij.org/stories/war-and-peace-in-a-bohol-barangay/ (accessed 9 April 2011).

[42]Hastings, 66.

are 185 accounted insurgent returnees organized into cooperatives and farmers associations which are supported by the government in terms of housing, funds, and livelihood training.[43] Col Arthur Tabaquero, the military commander in Bohol in 2006, said the rebel returnees have been given livelihood programs, housing projects, and scholarship grants for their children through their cooperatives.

Francisco Payot, 46 years old, and a former insurgent leader, told the *Inquirer* that he surrendered to the government in October 2004 after six years with the Communist Party of the Philippines. Payot, known in the underground movement as Ka Amado or Ka Anselmo, said he left the movement after he got tired of the ―false promises" as well as the ―terrorist activities" advocated by the communist insurgents. He shared,

> I joined them on the promise that our lives would be better. But as I went through all the years, all the idealism I espoused with the party proved to be false. Now that I am with the government, I realized I should not have allowed myself to be used by false ideology. Now, I could say I am free.

Payot now heads the Rajah Soliman cooperative based in the military reserve of the 302nd Infantry Brigade in Carmen, Bohol. A father of two children, Payot said he was apprehensive of his security because the communist insurgents had labeled him a traitor. He further stated, ―It's always the policy of the movement that once you get out without informing them formally, you are considered a traitor. I do have fears but nothing compares to the fears I had when I was in the movement--like being caught in an encounter and not [seeing] my family again."

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[43]Hastings, 67.

Payot said he took the opportunity of leaving the communist party when he was granted a two-week vacation to be with his family. ―It was at that time that I had to decide fast and surrender for the sake of my family and myself," he added.[44]

To better propagate social justice, the government facilitated the deployment of fact-finding missions immediately after receipt of reports of insurgency related incidents that involve government troops and the communist insurgents. In addition, the provincial government provided assistance to the people in the prosecution of cases against violators. It also provided for the defense of the law enforcers when they are charged of offenses relating to the performance of their duties. In contrast to previous insurgency models, the military in Bohol notably performed the support role. As such, apart from the military providing security, it was involved in non-traditional missions. This included immersion into the population through dialogues and information patrols to build legitimacy for the government. This contrasted with the combat operations that sometimes result in human rights' violations and collateral damages on the civilian population.[45]

The need to inform the public about the government's programs and the progress of their implementation, as well as the importance of enlightening the people on the nature of the communist struggle, are essential components of the Bohol strategy. In terms of information operations, the local government also launched a massive media campaign to increase public awareness with focus on the extortion attempts of the

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[44]Jolene Bulambot, ―Bohol Model Cited for Insurgency Defeat," *Inquirer.net*, 18 September 2006, http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/inquirerheadlines/regions/view/20060918-21555/Bohol_model_cited_for_insurgency_defeat (accessed 2 May 2011).

[45]Aumentado, Paper Presented during the Local Peace and Security Assembly.

insurgents.[46] To be more credible and effective, the local government formed a speaker's bureau composed of former rebels and militants who went from one village to another to expose the evils of the communist insurgents.

An example is when a female high-ranking Communist Party of the Philippines leader in Bohol who surrendered in 2006 became part of the speaker's bureau. Amie (not her real name) said she was lucky that the military took her under their custody after she left the rebel movement in June 2006. A mother of five children and a rebel for six years, Amie said her life in the rural areas as an organizer was very hard. She always tell the people,

> I realized I made a mistake when I joined them. They don't believe in God and the way of life they want us to lead was contrary to my beliefs as a Catholic, as well as a *boholana*. I don't conform with many of their ways so when I had the opportunity to get out, I just grabbed it. Even if I fear for my family because they might be harmed, I am happy that I went out and the military is helping us.[47]

In this case, the information campaign sought to obtain the support of the local population and its leaders. The emphasis on information operations was made possible because the government recognized that information ensures better control of the area of operations. It was also made possible because it contributed to a safe and stable environment while showing a clear resolution to subdue the adversary.[48]

Part of the information operations campaign was to expand the development of a culture of peace. For example, the military launched the provincial caravan for peace and unity. It was a massive demonstration of peace advocacy. Local government officials,

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[46]Aumentado, Paper Presented during the Local Peace and Security Assembly.

[47]Jolene Bulambot, —Bhol Model Cited for Insurgency Defeat."

[48]Hastings, 68.

non-government organizations, and other peace-oriented groups in the province of Bohol actively participated.[49] Likewise, the local government was able to generate support from national government agencies operating in the province in hammering out a peace and development framework that focuses on poverty reduction and worked for the common good and general well being of the people. It was the agreement among the Bohol leaders from the start that military intervention alone cannot solve the insurgency problem, thus the birth of what is popularly known as ―Team Bohol."

Team Bohol is composed of the Tagbilaran bishop, the military commander, the Philippine national police provincial director and the local government units. The team ultimately became the vehicle for peace and eventual progress in the area with the implementation of effective innovations that any other peace and order council can initiate if the collective passion to achieve a culture of peace is present. The police and the military have played support role to the local government units and served as the vital partners of the Team Bohol given the platform that peace is a major anchor for accelerated development and progress.

The support of religious organizations and the leading private and civic groups played an important role in the success of Bohol. The civilian-church-military-police quad became the vehicle for the implementation of peace and development programs under the Provincial Peace and Order Council.[50] With poverty reduction as the main objective, the government of Bohol's strategy is illustrated in figure 2.

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[49]302nd Infantry Brigade, Campaign Briefing, 34.

[50]Rachelle Panlaqui, ―Bohol Local Government Units (LGUs): Taking the Lead Role in the Government's Anti-Insurgency Drive" (Public Administration Masters Paper, University of the Philippines, Quezon City, Philippines), 14-15.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT STRATEGY

Governor Aumentado recognized poverty as the root of insurgency in Bohol

Figure 2.   Bohol Local Government Strategy
Source: Rachelle Panlaqui, ―Bohol Local Government Units (LGUs): Taking the Lead Role in the Government's Anti-Insurgency Drive" (Public Administration Masters Paper, University of the Philippines, Quezon City, Philippines, 2010).

Employing the strategies of alliance building, convergence, community organizing, capability building, and reinvigorating the *bayanihan* spirit and self-reliance, the provincial government was able to unite all local leaders towards a common goal regardless of their political affiliation.[51]

Programs and Innovations

The Bohol poverty reduction program is the centerpiece program to free Bohol from the bondage of poverty.[52] All the other programs are guided by the vision, mission

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[51]Office of the Press Secretary, ―Bohol's Success vs. Insurgency."

[52]Manuel Sequitin, ―Internal Security Operations Campaign in Bohol Briefing" (Carmen, Bohol, Philippines, 2007), 27.

and objectives as embodied in Bohol program framework for poverty reduction. The framework provides guidelines in creating poverty-responsive policies, plans, programs and projects. It is intended to provide both strategic direction and tactical maneuvers for the crucial war against poverty in the province.[53] The framework does not encourage stand-alone projects that might result in less impact or, even worse, duplication of efforts. It encourages an integrated program approach for all poverty-responsive interventions.[54]

The local leaders and all *boholanos* share the common vision that Bohol is a prime eco-cultural tourism destination and a strong agro-industrial province in the Visayas with an empowered and self-reliant people who are God-loving, law-abiding, proud of their cultural heritage and committed to the growth and protection of the environment.[55] To realize this vision, Bohol embarked on a mission to continuously transform its social, economic, political and cultural life through effective collaboration of people from all the sectors in the province.[56]

In relation, the local leaders of Bohol crafted five broad goals to accomplish the mission. First, to establish the importance and contribution of Bohol to the nation's socio-cultural and political growth and economic competitive edge. Second is to establish sustainable eco-cultural tourism and agro-industrial sites in the province to encourage investments and employment opportunities. Third is to ensure sustainable growth in

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[53]Office of the Provincial Development of Bohol, ―The Bohol Provincial Annual Development Plan CY 2004," 53.

[54]Ibid., 56.

[55]Ibid., 49.

[56]Ibid., 50.

revenues from major industries that adhere to a sustainable framework for developing, utilizing and managing the environment and natural resources of the province. Fourth is to enrich and continuously develop the dynamic and creative *boholano* culture in all municipalities and in the capital city of Tagbilaran. And lastly, to develop a well-informed citizenry in healthy communities, aware and proud of its competencies that enable them to be much more productive, enterprising and participative in attaining the vision and goals of Bohol.[57] With clear vision, mission, and objectives, Bohol set out to implement various programs and innovations.

On Alliance Building

In 2001, the year that Governor Aumentado started his governance, the Bohol poverty reduction management office was created by Executive Order No.10 series 2001, and later on, strengthened by the *Sanguniang Panlalawigan* (provincial board) legislation. This office was created for the purpose of ensuring close coordination and collaboration among the various local and national government agencies and the military in pursuing poverty reduction program and addressing insurgency.[58] With the establishment of cooperatives as the main tool, the Bohol poverty reduction management office was able to improve the quality of life of the *boholanos*, making them turn their

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[57]Ibid., 51-52.

[58]Erico Aumentado, ―Poverty Reduction for Peace and Development: The Bohol Experience" (Briefing to Zamboanga Sibugay Local Officials), 12.

backs on communism, thereby contributing greatly to the decline of insurgency in Bohol.[59]

To support the legal battles that security forces often have to face, the legal assistance for effective law enforcement program was launched. The program draws the participation of civilian lawyers in providing assistance to the military, police, citizen Armed Forces geographical units, *tanods* (civilian roving guards), fish wardens and other law enforcers in the prosecution of cases against violators. Likewise, the program ensures the provision of legal defense of the law enforcers when they are charged of offenses related to the performance of their duties. The provincial government has since been providing P350,000 annually to secure the services of the Integrated Bar of the Philippines-Bohol chapter for the purpose.[60] This program bolstered the confidence of law enforcers in carrying out their duties, knowing fully-well that they are appropriately represented in case they are embroiled in legal battles in the discharge of their duties.

To ensure more comprehensive and effective coordination of government efforts and the active participation of the citizenry relative to the conduct of campaign against criminality and insurgency, the Bohol government reorganized the provincial peace and order council. The reorganization is in line with President Gloria Arroyo's Executive Order 739, signed on 19 August 2008.[61] Former defense secretary Gilberto Teodoro stated, ―With EO 739, local government executives have the primary responsibility of

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[59]Aumentado, Lecture presented on the 5th Philippine Army Senior Leaders Conference, 6.

[60]Ibid., 9.

[61]Panlaqui, ―Bohol LGUs: Taking the Lead in Anti-Insurgency Drive," 7.

protecting our communities under the general welfare clause of the local government code. It is but right that we converge stronger at this time. Meaning to say, local government executives must have more focus now on internal security operations aside from their other duties."[62]

At the provincial level, the provincial governor acts as provincial peace and order council chairperson and the vice-governor as the vice-chairman. Representatives from the military, religious sector, civilian government, and private sectors compose the membership of the council. The provincial peace and order council provides a forum for dialogue on issues affecting peace and order. Other responsibilities of the council include the recommendation of measures to enhance peace and order, including counterinsurgency; initiation and overseeing of the convergence of internal security operations efforts; application of moral suasion against local chief executives supporting the insurgents; and the monitoring of the provisions of livelihood and infrastructure development programs in remote and indigenous areas.[63]

In addition, the provincial peace and order council of Bohol conducts monthly civic action to bring the government closer to the people. The provincial peace and order council conducts medical, dental and surgical missions in conflict areas delivering basic health services to the people therein as well as provide farm inputs, clothing, fruit tree seedlings and supplemental feeding for indigent children and distribution of rice to the people in the areas covered.

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[62]Katherine Evangelista, Executive Order 739, *Reorganizing of the Peace and Order Council*, http://www.timawa.net/forum/index.php?topic=15626.0 (accessed 10 April 2011).

[63]Panlaqui, ―Bohol LGUs: Taking the Lead in Anti-Insurgency Drive," 8.

The soldiers performed non-traditional military roles and joined the civilians, still bringing their guns but this time, extracting teeth, prescribing medicines, conducting operation: *tuli* (circumcision), performing therapeutic massage, and offering haircuts.

Because the police join these civic actions, they were quick to bring their own medical and dental teams on top of their regular fight against criminality. These are clear example of more hands to do job ahead of time.

For every civic action, about 1,500 to 2,000 beneficiaries are being serviced. During the occasion, the military, police and civilian authorities have conducted also their joint information drives to win the hearts and minds of the people.[64]

To address issues and concerns raised by insurgent groups and the government side, the local peace forum was created in accordance with the directive from the office of the presidential adviser on the peace process. The bishop of the diocese of Tagbilaran (capital of Bohol) chairs the local peace forum while the governor co-chairs the forum. The provincial government provides the funding for the local peace forum's administrative and operational requirements.[65]

The Bohol government likewise built alliances internationally. In fact, it is the only province in the Philippines which is admitted as a member of the Europe-based international council for local environment initiatives. Also, Bohol has the Bohol-Jiangxi (China) sisterhood agreement, the Chocolate Hills membership in the Association of World Famous Mountains, and the sisterhood memorandum of understanding with

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[64]Aumentado, Lecture presented on the 5th Philippine Army Senior Leaders Conference, 7.

[65]Ibid.

Goheung County of South Korea. In due time, the province of Keangnam, also of South Korea, will enter into a sisterhood pact with Bohol. These international relations can, undoubtedly, bring to the province windfalls that are not just limited to economic investments and official development assistance funding.[66] Such was the case when secretary Meng Jianzhu, chair of the Jiangxi province standing communist party committee and now minister of public security of the People's Republic of China visited Bohol in 2005 for the Jiangxi-Bohol sisterhood agreement which would foster friendly exchanges and cooperation between the two provinces. In an unexpected pronouncement during a media interview, Meng declared that China is not supporting the communist insurgency in the Philippines, especially in Bohol. That pronouncement has demoralized to some extent the communist insurgents in Bohol.[67]

With these efforts, coupled with other collaborative programs, the local government of Bohol was able to rally support from wide-ranging groups and organizations. Alliance was forged towards the accomplishment of a common goal.

On Convergence

The provincial planning and development office spearheads the formulation of provincial development plans through a series of participatory processes involving various agencies and civilian entities. This ensures not just the comprehensiveness and practicality of the plan but most importantly the ownership of the plan by all

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[66]Erico Aumentado, ―Making a Difference Together: A Legacy of Outstanding Achievements" (State of the Province Address, Tagbilaran City, Bohol, Philippines, 23 February 2010), 11.

[67]Aumentado, Lecture presented on the 5th Philippine Army Senior Leaders Conference, 4.

stakeholders, thus gaining their support and commitment.[68] Likewise, it avoids

duplication of efforts while optimizing the use of resources on programs being

undertaken. Convergence of efforts is very much evident in the tourism and infrastructure

development of Bohol.

For instance, various sectors work together to promote Bohol as an eco-tourism

destination to stimulate economic growth and provide direct cash benefits to local

communities. These benefits can in turn be channeled to improve nutrition, food security,

housing, and ultimately raise the standard of living in rural areas.[69] Towards this end, the

local government divided the province in seven tourism clusters with each cluster

comprising of several municipalities. This clustering fosters cooperation and allows

poorer municipalities the opportunity to embark in tourism projects with the support of

other municipalities within the cluster. Each cluster is mandated by the provincial

government to have a high-impact tourism project.[70] To support such projects, the

provincial government continues to build tourism highways, support the development of

more tourism products, and enhance networking with tourism industry players for

smoother, more effective attainment of common ends.[71]

Bohol has always been an agricultural province. But during the watch of

Governor Aumentado, it has become a global tourism destination resulting from its

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[68]Office of the Governor, *Bohol Provincial Annual Report CY 2009* (Bohol, Philippines), xxi.

[69]Office of the Provincial Development of Bohol, *The Bohol Provincial Annual Development Plan CY 2004*, 66.

[70]Ibid., 15.

[71]Ibid., 70.

massive campaign and efforts to build Bohol's tourism infrastructure. On investment promotion, the Bohol investment promotion center had distributed promotional collaterals to visitors and prospective investors locally and internationally such as China, United States, Canada, South Korea, India and others. Aside from the distribution of promotional collaterals, visual presentations were also conducted to visitors and guests in the province.[72] The booming tourism industry generates employment for the *boholanos*. These are all made possible with the creation of the Bohol tourism office which handles the tourism development of the province.

The efforts of the department of national defense also converge to that of the Bohol local government. Bohol and the department of national defense, through the Armed Forces of the Philippines National Development Support Command, have been collaborating in various infrastructure projects. Notable is the construction of school buildings in conflict areas where there is need to educate schoolchildren on the nature of insurgents and its adverse effects to the economy of the community. A concrete example is the rebuilding of the Rizal High School building in Rizal, Batuan, Bohol, whose military and police stations were overrun by the communist insurgents in 1999.

Another project that Bohol is undertaking with the national development support command and the department of public works and highway, is the Bohol tourism road improvement project which covers all hinterland *barangays* in the province where before, there are insurgency problem and no contractor would venture any road project.

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[72]Office of the Governor, *Bohol Provincial Annual Report CY 2009,* xxxiii.

The road network will ensure the mobility of military and police operations in the province to contain any re-entry of communist terrorists from the neighboring island provinces of Negros Oriental, Cebu, Leyte, and even from Mindanao.

At the same time, with the Bohol tourism road improvement project providing easy access to tourism destinations in the province and serving as farm-to-market roads for easy and cheaper transport of goods, the economic development of the hinterland areas is enhanced.[73]

Convergence of efforts is evident in the implementation of major official development assistance-funded poverty reduction projects. One such project is the P392-million *Kapit-Bisig Laban sa Kahirapan* which is a comprehensive and integrated delivery of social services. Another project is the P124.1-million Belgian integrated agrarian reform support program for rural infrastructure, livelihood and job generation, education and public health. To further support Bohol's agrarian reform program, World Bank funded the P230-million agrarian reform community development and the P280-million land administration management project. These projects addressed directly the insurgents' concern for a comprehensive agrarian reform. Likewise the Australian Agency for International Development funded a P260.5-million human resource development facility and a local governance development program. It also funded the P420-million provincial roads management facility for five years. Counterpart fund to realize the implementation of these projects were sourced by the government of Bohol among its stakeholders in the province.

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[73]Aumentado, Lecture presented on the 5th Philippine Army Senior Leaders Conference, 11.

The local equity counterparts were being shared by the *barangays,* municipalities, congressmen, non government organizations and the provincial government to ensure that the projects can be realized.[74]

Through careful planning done collectively by the stakeholders at the provincial planning development office, efforts were optimized and directed to accomplish specifically identified concern of the province.

<u>On Community Organizing</u>

The special operations team concept of the military was modified in Bohol and called as SOT:Bohol Model. Instead of the military implementing the special operations team alone, civilian community organizers were deployed with military special operations team operators in conflict areas to organize residents into cooperatives or associations for livelihood. Together with the soldiers, they live, eat and sleep in the communities to facilitate the needs of the *barangay* folks in their livelihood projects, support the information campaigns and conduct medical, surgical and dental civic action programs. This way, trust and confidence of the people were easily established.[75]

Similar to the original special operations team concept, the Bohol model employs the strategy of collaboration, linkaging, and networking to get the cooperation of other government agencies, the private sector, local government units, line government agencies, and the populace to go against the insurgent-based efforts. In due time, the SOT:Bohol Model accomplished the primary objectives of the special operations team

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[74]Aumentado, ―Making a Difference Together," 2.

[75]Aumentado, Lecture presented on the 5th Philippine Army Senior Leaders Conference, 6.

such as the dismantling of the communist insurgents' *barangay* political infrastructure, setting-up of counter-insurgent organizations, organizing clandestine *barangay* intelligence networks, and the organization of village defense forces. [76]

With the insurgents in Bohol marginalized, the province organized the Bohol local integrated security system. This is the strategy of securing and insulating the province from the re-incursion or re-entry of insurgents, in addition to the currently implemented coastal watch, mainly against illegal fishing, but also covering drug trafficking, gunrunning and others.

The components of Bohol local integrated security system include local government units thru their respective municipal peace and order councils, *barangay* security systems, *barangay* intelligence networks, Philippine national police, citizen Armed Forces geographic active auxiliaries, mobile military and police units, coastal law enforcement councils, people's organizations, Bohol poverty reduction management office teams, and the economic managers for development. The *barangay* security system is an overt but unarmed component of the local security organization which is organized in insurgent-prone *barangays* to provide protection to the community through the conduct of *rondas* (roving patrols) and reporting unusual activities such as drug trafficking, gunrunning and illegal fishing, among others. Bohol local integrated security system was approved under resolution number 4-2008 of the joint provincial peace and

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[76]Espuelas, 9.

order council, provincial development council, league of municipalities of the Philippines

Bohol Chapter, and the *Sangguniang Panlalawigan* meeting on 3 March 2008.[77]

The military will not stay in Bohol forever. Hence, the police and citizen Armed

Forces geographic active auxiliaries are already trained as left-behind forces. They serve

as the backbone of the community security to deter incursion and immediately respond to

threats from insurgents, patrol the outlying areas in the community to strengthen the local

security system in the *barangays.*

The Philippine national police, as the main force of internal security, will patrol

the community, especially the *barangays* near the town centers. The coastal law

enforcement councils and their teams with composite membership from the Philippine

navy, the Philippine national police, coast guards, maritime police, and people's

organizations will patrol the seawaters of Bohol to provide marine detection and

prevention for communist insurgents to land in any coastal community in the province.

With the communities therein fully organized as part of the community security system,

the reentry of insurgents can be prevented.

The Armed Forces and the mobile police units will conduct the offensives against

the insurgents and at the same time, complement the efforts of the auxiliaries in patrolling

especially the areas very prone to infiltration, or conduct operations in threatened areas to

flush out the insurgents.

The *barangay* intelligence network serves as the early warning device of the

community security system by conducting surveillance of the presence of insurgents in

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[77]Aumentado, Lecture presented on the 5th Philippine Army Senior Leaders Conference, 12.

the *barangay* proper and outlying areas. On the other hand, the peace and order council serves as the command and control of the integrated security system. It closely monitors and provides direction to the operations of the various components of the Bohol local integrated security system. The rest will provide information, organize and assist people's organizations to make them productive and empowered in terms of economics.

The present peaceful environment of Bohol has contributed immensely in the progress and development of the province. And this is partly attributed to the gains in the convergent efforts of its stakeholders which paved the way to the clearing of all guerilla fronts in the province by 2010.[78] Notably, all the sectors of the society are mobilized to strengthen the security efforts and prevent insurgents from influencing the people in the *barangays*.

<div align="center">On Capability Building</div>

To address the problem on unemployment, the Bohol employment and placement office was created. Notwithstanding its limited resources, the office was able to implement its mandated programs and services. In serving the constant flow of job seekers, Bohol employment and placement office was able to solicit 15,612 job vacancies from its contact recruitment agencies thru the conduct of jobs fair and special recruitment activities throughout the year 2009. Out of the 15,612 job vacancies posted which were either regular or contractual programs, 5,802 or 37.16 percent of these programs had been applied for by applicants through registration at Bohol employment and placement office.

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[78]Ibid., 13.

In further assisting job seekers, Bohol employment and placement office conducted mobile services in coordination with national government agencies e.g. professional registration commission, land transportation franchising regulatory board, national statistics office and other vital government institutions wherein job seekers had the convenience of securing vital travel and employment-related documents in the province, such as passports, work licenses, authentication of birth and marriage certificates, security clearances, among others.[79] In the past, such documents can only be obtained by personally travelling to the provincial capital or in Metro Manila.

In his briefing to the deputy national security adviser in February 2010, Governor Aumentado reported that through the Bohol employment and placement office, they were able to deploy about 2,647 *boholanos* overseas workers and some 2,273 domestic workers as well as employed 5,961 students in summer and christmas jobs. Bohol employment and placement office has also facilitated the processing of 5,961 passports by the department of foreign affairs, 3,022 licenses by the Philippine regulatory commission, 1,289 franchises by the land transportation franchising regulatory board, 50,733 clearances by the national bureau of investigation, and authentication of 2,351 birth and marriage certificates by the national statistics office.[80] Through these continuing efforts, the unemployment rate in Bohol has consistently been improving resulting to a significant improvement in the standard of living of the *boholanos*.

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[79]Office of the Governor, *Bohol Provincial Annual Report CY 2009*, xxxiv.

[80]Erico Aumentado, ―Peace and Development Program of Bohol" (Briefing to the National Security Adviser, Bohol, Philippines, February 2010), 12.

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Bohol is presently maintaining a local monitoring board on the implementation of the comprehensive agreement on respect for human rights and international humanitarian law. Aside from monitoring, intensive information dissemination is being conducted regularly in coordination with the public information patrol of the military. Target audiences are students, out-of-school youths, and other *barangay* folks. The continuous information campaigns are also aimed at educating and informing communities on updates on the stalled peace talks with the Communist Party of the Philippines. The local monitoring board also accepts complaints of human rights violation for action by the national government's joint monitoring committee. Aside from the provincial local monitoring board, there are six municipal local monitoring boards (two per congressional district), in strategic areas of the province.[81]

To support the promotion of human rights in the province, the army brigade, through the 2nd Special Forces battalion, assisted in the information drives on the comprehensive agreement on respect of human rights and international humanitarian law. A total of 955 advocacy activities and awareness programs were conducted in 2009 in coordination with the local monitoring board of the provincial government.[82]

To prevent the insurgents from exploiting incidents for any propaganda purpose, fact-finding missions were institutionalized. Such missions are immediately deployed after the receipt of reports of insurgency-related incidents that involve government troops, the communist insurgents, their supporters or neutral groups. Composed of peace and order council members coming from both government and non-government

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[81]Ibid., 6.

[82]Office of the Governor, *Bohol Provincial Annual Report CY 2009*, xxvii.

institutions, the fact-finding team gathers first-hand information on incidents related to internal security operations such as encounters, the so-called ‑extra-judicial killings," alleged abuses of government troopers, and all forms of human rights violations. The factual information the team reports to the governor is vital for the proper actions to be taken, either for socio-economic interventions or policy-direction. More importantly, the conduct of such activity would set the facts straight.[83]

To quickly address the needs of the affected residents in times of calamities, a quick response team is regularly dispatched to conflict-affected and disaster-stricken areas to assess the extent of damage and provide the necessary emergency assistance to the families of victims. This assistance range from food, medicines, temporary shelter, clothing and even coffins when there are casualties.[84]

To reintegrate insurgent returnees to mainstream society, social integration program is implemented. The returnees are organized into cooperatives, trained, and provided start-up funds. The returnees have since became the province's partners for reforms, *kauban sa reporma*. In 2010, there are 185 accounted communist insurgent returnees. Sixty of them surrendered even in the absence of an amnesty proclamation. They have been organized into the Tuburan settlers cooperative in Ubay, the Bohol composite farmers association which will soon venture into an oil palm plantation, and the rajah Sikatuna multi-purpose cooperative in the military reservation in Carmen also in farming like the Ubay cooperative. The returnees themselves are active members of the speakers' bureau and share their experiences during *pulong-pulongs* (community

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[83]Aumentado, Briefing to the NSA, 7.

[84]Ibid.

meetings) to make people aware of the hardships and difficulties of the life of an insurgent and the deceptive motives of the local communist group.[85] The military likewise launched a special program to provide assistance in the integration of former rebels. The assigned army brigade in the province allocated portions of the military reservation areas as resettlement for rebel returnees.[86] Colonel Arthur Tabaquero, in an interview with *Inquirer* said most of the former rebels had been living in the 302nd Infantry Brigade's 47-hectare military reservation while others have returned to their respective communities.[87]

To further enhance the economic capability of the *boholanos*, the subcontracting partners for innovation program was launched. It is a livelihood program for returnees, their families, and members of the community where they are trained to make baskets and other woven products for export. The program creates economic opportunities to areas that are ready for development, free from conflict and wanting of government assistance. It encourages the *boholanos* to become active players in the economy. The military, for its part, assists the provincial government in providing the updated list of cleared conflict areas in the province, ensuring the security and safety of the participants and assisting in the information dissemination of the project and gathering of participants for the training. As of first quarter of 2011, at least 47 livelihood skills training on basket weaving were conducted in 130 *barangays* in 20 municipalities of the province benefiting at least 1,874 people since it was implemented in CY 2008.[88]

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[85]Ibid.

[86]Office of the Governor, *Bohol Provincial Annual Report CY 2009*, xxvii.

[87]Bulambot, ―Bohol Model cited for Insurgency Defeat."

[88]Brawner, ―Engaging the Local Chief Executives," 8.

The capability building programs implemented by the province restore dignity to impoverished *boholanos* and provide opportunity for the insurgent returnees to rebuild their lives.

<u>On Reinvigorating the *bayanihan* spirit</u>

Bayanihan is a Filipino word which is deeply embedded in the values of the *boholanos,* which means cooperation and helping one another. Along this line, Bohol is embarking on project skills trainings advocating reliance and self-employment. The project is intended for livelihood and job generation of 26,616 individuals, including insurgent returnees for training in 12 gainful skills. The skills training to be offered are manicure/pedicure, hairstyling/cutting, basic electricity, plumbing, therapeutic massage/reflexology, cell phone repair, driving, television/radio servicing, household service worker, small engine mechanic, welding, and tour guiding. Funding for the project is jointly provided by the national government, provincial government with the Bohol chamber of commerce and industry as project co-implementor.[89]

As an outward manifestation of support of the populace to the security forces, the provincial government is providing food support for the military, police, and civilian auxiliaries in their operations. Similarly, other local government units are supporting the security forces logistically.[90].

An ingenious way of helping the farmers to own their own farm equipment and livestock is the launching of ―Let's Help Bohol‖ program. The project, funded by the

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[89]Aumentado, Lecture presented on the 5th Philippine Army Senior Leaders Conference, 11.

[90]Aumentado, Briefing to Zamboanga Sibugay Local Officials, 52.

Heifer project international is being implemented in 12 municipalities covering 135

people's organizations with an aggregate of 7,650 families involved in the carabao, goat,

and chicken dispersal program.

The program is unique in the sense that there is a passing on of the offspring from

the original beneficiaries of carabao, goat and chicken to those involved in the program.

The original cost for 1,297 carabaos distributed to as many families, 1,103 goats to 301

families, and 1,496 chickens to 150 families amounted to P18,923,800. The passed on

offspring if valued, would now amount to P6,987,500. A livestock mortuary program also

replaced animals that died of accidents, disease or other causes not due to negligence.

The success of ―Let's Help Bohol‖ program inspired the birth of the ―livelihood

integrated for food and family enhancement‖ that covers 12 more towns. In addition to

the dispersal of carabaos, goats and chickens, also dispersed are swine and ducks. It had

an initial funding of P3,616,000 to procure 152 carabaos, 520 goats, 18 swine, 500 ducks

and 1,020 chickens. It involves 25 people's organizations and 2,069 family members. The

program likewise has training and soft loan components for the people's organization

members.[91]

As of February 2010, the project has generated a total of P117,292,379.78 in

terms of counterparting and pass on of carabaos, goats, swine, ducks and chickens to new

family beneficiaries and people's organizations.[92]

Numerous programs similar to the ―skills trainings advocating reliance and self-

employment,‖ ―Let's Help Bohol,‖ and ―livelihood integrated for food and family

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[91]Aumentado, Briefing to the NSA, 3.

[92]Aumentado, ―Making a Difference Together,‖ 2.

enhancement" were implemented in Bohol. Such programs empowered especially the marginalized families in Bohol to rely on their own capability for sustenance.

As could be gleaned from the discussions, the positive development in Bohol was due to their strategy of alliance building, convergence of efforts, community organizing, capability building, and reinvigorating the *bayanihan* spirit. The implementation of well thought-out programs which were fully supported by various stakeholders, transformed Bohol from an impoverished province to one of the best performing provinces in the Philippines.

<p style="text-align:center">The Transformation of Bohol</p>

In a few years of implementation, the poverty reduction programs of Bohol generated positive results. The United Nations development program report on the Philippine human development index in 2005 declared that Bohol was out of Club 20 (twenty poorest provinces in the Philippines out of eighty provinces nationwide) and occupied the 41st position in the higher level of provinces. In fact, Bohol was the number two best performing province in poverty reduction which was reduced from 53.6 percent to 29.2 percent. That year, 2005, there was a sharp reduction, correspondingly, of the communist influenced *barangays* from 305 to 46. Also, the number of armed insurgents went down from 283 in 2001 to 64 in 2005. Resulting from the counterinsurgency efforts of Bohol, the Central and Eastern Visayas headquarters of the communist party in Bohol transferred to Leyte, a nearby province.[93]

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[93] Aumentado, ―Making a Difference Together," 2.

The Bohol poverty reduction management office has worked in 284 *barangays* to improve the quality of life of the *boholanos*. Consequently, the number of *barangays,* either influenced, infiltrated or threatened had been reduced further to 24, per military report in 2007.

The *boholanos* have awakened from the manipulation and exploitation of the insurgents after realizing that the government is indeed sincere in helping them out of poverty. The *barangay* folks in the affected areas now refuse to give sanctuary to the insurgents who, in the recent past, used their *barangays* as bases of operations. Thus, in March 2010, Bohol was declared insurgency free, thereby categorizing it a ―cleared" area in accordance with the national internal security plan.

The success story of the Bohol poverty reduction for peace and development has drawn the inspiring response from then President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo who issued Administrative Order 201 directing all departments and line agencies to accelerate and expand development programs in support of local peace efforts, in the country.

President Arroyo said, ―The message should be clear. When peace is forged development follows." President Arroyo, former Defense Secretary Gilberto Teodoro Jr., and National Security Adviser Norberto Gonzales strongly asserted that the Bohol model has become a model of the national government in fighting poverty and insurgency at the same time.[94]

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[94]Aumentado, ―Making a Difference Together," 2.

The Bohol Counterinsurgency Framework

The transformation of Bohol was not accidental. It was a product of a process following a definite framework. From the Bohol experience, an effective counterinsurgency framework can be deduced. First, the counterinsurgency efforts must be led by the local chief executive. Second, the major economic driver/s must be clearly identified. This would be the focus of collaborative efforts by the different sectors in the society. In the case of Bohol, the economic drivers are tourism and agriculture. Third, resource generation must be rigorously pursued locally, nationally, and internationally. Fourth, a comprehensive and sustainable insurgent returnees program must be established. This would provide insurgents an opportunity to effectively reintegrate themselves to mainstream society. Fifth, an integrated territorial defense system must be created which shall be composed of both civilians and uniformed personnel. This would prevent re-incursion of the insurgents into the province. And lastly, ensure effective governance through responsibility-sharing, accountability, and transparency. With these, the sustainability of all programs and counterinsurgency efforts shall be assured.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter 4 presented an analysis of the Bohol counterinsurgency strategy. From the analysis was derived the Bohol counterinsurgency framework. This finding supports the primary purpose of the study which is to determine an effective counterinsurgency model for the Philippines.

In this chapter, the important lessons from the Bohol counterinsurgency experience are highlighted. Also, a comparative analysis of the Bohol counterinsurgency framework vis a vis the new counterinsurgency plan *Bayanihan* is presented to illustrate the correlation between the two. A section discusses the challenges that may be encountered in the employment of the Bohol counterinsurgency framework. Then, the study is concluded with recommendations of topics for further study and for action.

Important Lessons from Bohol Counterinsurgency Strategy

The most important lesson that can be derived from the Bohol experience is the fact that the indirect approach in defeating the insurgents is effective. The direct approach of confronting the insurgents primarily by arms was proven to be of lesser significance in counterinsurgency. Proof of the primacy of indirect approach on counterinsurgency is Governor Aumentado's attribution of the success of Bohol's anti-insurgency campaign to carefully crafted programs on poverty-alleviation, social justice, government social services, and efficient governance. These programs regained the people's trust in the

government, diminished the insurgents' appeal, reduced the perception of deprivation, and decreased the conditions that breed revolutionary consciousness.[95]

The key to the success in Bohol is ―owership." This sense of ownership was made at the outset by initiating collective planning among all the stakeholders and ensuring collaborative task organizing. If one pools all the stakeholders together to have a say in resolving their problems, there is no reason not to have legitimacy. Unlike a unilateral decision, involving all sectors of society that have stakes in the problem makes a case for a highly popular solution. In short, to build consensus and legitimacy, convergence with all sectors of society is important. Enhanced interagency collaboration also facilitated the integration of decisions and the prosecution of essential programs in the whole province. There was a high degree of interagency coordination at all levels. Planners as well as implementers ensured that all programs and activities were jointly planned and integrated from the strategic to the tactical levels. Significant to this collaboration is the use of liaisons from different organizations embedded at the right locations in key agencies, such as the provincial and municipal peace and order councils.[96]

The Bohol experience also tells us that for a counterinsurgency to be effective it should reflect a culture of peace framework or roadmap for the future, crafted with the involvement of stakeholders. A culture of peace is defined as ―a shared way of living" that promotes peace. It includes key processes, such as peace building, healing and reconciliation, sustainable development, good governance, and empowerment. The

[95]Hastings, 70.

[96]Ibid., 153.

components include policy advocacy that builds consensus, community participation, and media mobilization. Following a culture of peace framework can assuage perceptions about the military being occupiers and create an image as a partner for peace and development. In other words, to counter insurgency effectively, the government should not focus on counterinsurgency per se. The problems that give rise to revolutionary consciousness are not always counterinsurgency-related. Any strategy should be comprehensive. Counterinsurgency will just be a part of it. Similar to Bohol, the overall template revolved on the fight against poverty and, thus, insurgency-related solutions are tied to it.[97]

It is also notable that there is no direct foreign involvement in dealing with the insurgents in Bohol. Foreign support is limited only to funding economic and infrastructure development in support to Bohol's poverty reduction program. In a country like the Philippines, direct involvement of foreigners in counterinsurgency may impact negatively as it would be an issue that could be effectively exploited by the insurgents to generate sympathy and support among the populace.

As regards corruption, the director of Bohol's planning and development office, Romeo Teruel stated,

> To say that there is or was no corruption in Bohol would be absurd if not utopian. It is to what degree we were able to reduce or minimize it. It is still good governance that will minimize or eventually eliminate corruption. It is good governance that is honestly understood and willed by the leadership from top to bottom that will solve it. It is good governance with all its elements of

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[97]Ibid., 135.

responsiveness, transparency and accountability that will give us hope of solving corruption.[98]

<u>Bohol Counterinsurgency Framework and OPLAN *Bayanihan*</u>

The counterinsurgency framework derived from this study is in consonance and supported by the new internal peace and security plan of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, *Bayanihan*. As President Benigno S Aquino III, the Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, said in his message published with *Bayanihan*,

> The ills confronting our nation are multi-faceted and complex. These can never be addressed through raising arms and wielding force against our democratic way of life as a nation. In the same vein, we recognize that a purely military solution will never be enough to adequately address these issues. As peace and security is indivisible, efforts towards these must be shared.[99]

Along this line, it is imperative that the Armed Forces of the Philippines catalyzes, enables, and facilitates the active participation of all stakeholders in the pursuit of peace and security in conflict-affected areas. All Armed Forces of the Philippines' peace and security efforts shall be aligned with the collective initiatives of different stakeholders.[100] General Alexander Yano, the Armed Forces of the Philippines Chief of Staff in 2007, citing the crucial partnerships between government and the civil sectors that worked for Bohol said, ―We cannot do the job alone, insurgency requires a holistic approach involving not just the military but the civil government sectors as well." Yano

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[98]Romeo Teruel, Bohol Development Planning Office, Email correspondence with author, 17 May 2011.

[99]Armed Forces of the Philippines, *Internal Peace and Security Plan*, i.

[100]Ibid., 27.

said he has directed all his troops to continue enhancing such relationships with the civil government, non-government organizations and the sectors of society.[101]

In accordance with the Bohol counterinsurgency framework, at the provincial level such initiatives shall be initiated and led by the local chief executive. Following the whole-of-nation approach advocated by *Bayanihan*, the Armed Forces shall contribute to the establishment of conditions for civil authorities to take responsibility for the safety and well-being of their constituents.[102] The whole-of-nation approach is but a natural progression and enhancement of the previously enunciated whole-of-government approach to internal security. While the latter only highlights the roles to be played by the various national government instrumentalities, the whole-of-nation approach presupposes that ordinary citizens and the entire Filipino nation are active contributors to internal peace and security.[103]

The second concept in Bohol counterinsurgency framework is the identification of economic drivers for multi-stakeholders' collaboration. *Bayanihan* supports this through information sharing between the Armed Forces and concerned civilian stakeholders. The military maintains a database of vital information on conflict areas. Sharing this with concerned stakeholders would give them a more accurate assessment on the needs of the people in the community and how to best plan the approach to find solution to their primary problem. This is contained in *Bayanihan* as part of the strategic approach.

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[101]Rey Anthony Chiu, ―Enhanced Partnerships in Bohol,‖ *Philippine Information Agency Press Release*, 23 September 2007.

[102]Armed Forces of the Philippines, *Internal Peace and Security Plan*, 23.

[103]Ibid., 25.

Military operations shall not be limited to purely combat operations. The Armed Forces shall likewise maximize the utilization of non-combat operations such as civil-military operations and development-oriented activities.[104]

Resource generation, as part of the Bohol counterinsurgency framework is supported by *Bayanihan* as it mandates the military to support community-based peace and development efforts. Specifically, the plan directs the military to continue and sustain community development initiatives involving the construction of basic social infrastructures. Engineering and civic action units shall continue to be deployed in areas where there are governance vacuums. Construction of short-gestation, high-impact projects such as irrigation systems and farm-to-market roads are intended to catalyze the construction of more specialized projects by national government agencies and local government units.[105]

Next is the insurgent returnees program. The President in his inaugural address has made it clear that this concern be given priority. He stressed that

> Even as the Filipino nation invests time and effort in building strong, capable and disciplined security forces, it must prepare to offer opportunities for negotiations toward a just and lasting peace. In turn, achieving a transparent and participative peace process requires a comprehensive understanding of the root causes of conflict, under clear policies and driven by a genuine desire to attain a just and lasting peace. Moreover, threats to security shall be addressed by wielding the tools of justice, social reform, and equitable governance.

Bayanihan's end-state against the communist insurgency is to render their armed component, the New People's Army, irrelevant and show the group the futility of their armed struggle. This is intended to convince them to abandon the armed struggle and

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[104]Armed Forces of the Philippines, *Internal Peace and Security Plan*, 24.

[105]Ibid., 33.

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instead engage in peace negotiations with the government. Critical to the attainment of this end-state is mobilizing and leveraging upon the entire citizenry in a whole-of-nation approach to apply social pressure to those who continue to take the path of violence. Focused military operations are expected to prompt the insurgent armed groups to abandon armed struggle and instead collectively or individually return to the fold of law and pursue their agenda through peaceful means. Military operations should therefore be complemented by the establishment of appropriate mechanisms for armed guerillas to lay down their arms and return to mainstream society. Providing avenues for a peaceful return to society shall reinforce *Bayanihan's* overarching paradigm of winning the peace and not simply defeating the enemy.[106]

Another concept derived from the Bohol counterinsurgency strategy is the creation of the integrated territorial defense system which shall be composed of both civilians and uniformed personnel. *Bayanihan* supports this as it recognizes that an active partnership between local government units, the police, and the military greatly help in pushing back if not defeating internal armed threat groups in a locality. The Armed Forces of the Philippines actively support capacity building efforts on security-related matters among local government units. This will allow them to take the lead in the peace and order function and develop their indigenous security capability.[107]

The last concept deduced from Bohol counterinsurgency is effective governance. *Bayanihan* emphasizes the importance of governance when it claims that insurgency is largely driven by structural problems in Philippine society, such as unequal development,

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[106]Armed Forces of the Philippines, *Internal Peace and Security Plan*, 30.

[107]Ibid., 15.

non-delivery of basic services, injustice, and poor governance, all of which are beyond the military's purview.[108] However, with its active participation in interagency coordination, the military can contribute to the establishment of a local government structure that ensures effective governance.

Based on the foregoing discussions, *Bayanihan*, thus, supports the derived counterinsurgency framework. And given the fact that *Bayanihan* was approved by the President of the Philippines for implementation, the framework is feasible and its sustainability is assured to a large extent. However, there may be some challenges in its application.

<div align="center">Challenges in the Application of Bohol
Counterinsurgency Framework</div>

There are five situations that stood out as challenges in the nationwide application of the counterinsurgency framework derived from this study. First is the cultural diversity of some provinces. Bohol is a fairly homogenous province culturally. The *boholanos* generally share the same set of beliefs and practices that made it easier for the local chief executive to unite and persuade the people to support programs being implemented. It may be more difficult to implement the same in a culturally diverse province such as Zamboanga Del Sur.

In Zamboanga Del Sur, Muslims, Christians, and numerous ethnic groups converge. The diversity in perspectives, wants, and needs could be enormous that it would seem that a unified action towards peace and progress is impossible. Nevertheless, a common economic driver, as mentioned in the Bohol framework, may provide a

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[108]Armed Forces of the Philippines, *Internal Peace and Security Plan*, 1.

unifying cause for a diverse populace to work together for a common good. A possible economic driver is the improvement of port facilities. The strategic location of Zamboanga in Western Mindanao can make it as a very important regional port. This can be complemented by tourism, which is practically an economic driver common to all provinces in the Philippines.

A second challenge is the fact that the Philippines is still confronting an active insurgency. Although their influence is dwindling, their organization is still intact and they still have a substantial number of mass supporters. Hence, there is always the possibility that insurgents may re-occupy areas that they have vacated. In the case of Bohol, the insurgents who moved away to a nearby island, Leyte, due to pressure brought about by an effective counterinsurgency program, could still come back and establish foothold in Bohol. The possibility of re-incursion is significantly decreased through the establishment of an integrated territorial defense system. It would deny the insurgents freedom of movement through the active involvement of both the military and the civilians in securing the province and reporting presence of suspicious people and events throughout the province.

If an integrated territorial defense system is set-up simultaneously in all the eighty provinces of the Philippines, the insurgents would be constricted to a point of no longer having an option but to surrender and return to the folds of the law. But since this cannot be easily realized due to the varying situations and capabilities of the provinces, local governments should complement the integrated territorial defense system with a sustainable rebel returnees program to entice the insurgents to surrender and become partners for peace and development.

The availability of resources is another challenge in the implementation of the framework. In Bohol, the lack of resources was addressed by ―clustering‖ municipalities with same economic drivers. In the same manner, by pooling together the resources of two or more provinces, the needed capability to pursue similar programs may be undertaken collectively without delay, while at the same time a establishing a cooperative action between and among adjacent provinces.

A fourth challenge is related to politics. It may be expected that some local chief executives would be reluctant to take the lead in counterinsurgency either due to differences in political party affiliation or fear of reprisal from the insurgents. For some, they would just turn a blind eye on the insurgents and give in to their threats and extortion demands, all for the purpose of maintaining their political clout in their province. A remedy to encourage, support, and compel local chief executives to take the lead in counterinsurgency effort is presented by the Bohol framework. One of the responsibilities of the provincial peace and order council is to apply moral suasion to the reluctant municipal chief executive. This is a strong manifestation of support to the local chief executive by the military, police, religious sector, local government agencies, business sector, and the civil society which are appropriately represented in the peace and order council. As a result, the reluctant local chief executive would feel more secured and confident in taking the lead in counterinsurgency which is crucial in synthesizing the multisectoral poverty reduction efforts towards defeating insurgency.

The last challenge to the framework is corruption. The Bohol counterinsurgency framework implies that effective governance would curtail corruption. The province of Bohol was able to keep corruption to a minimum as described by Teruel,

The people should actually see that government is honestly responding to their needs with the meager resources that it has. Government officials should be ready to account for the consequences of their decisions, their plans, programs, projects and activities that respond to the people's perceived needs. And in all aspects of its operations, government should be transparent. Budgets must be published, at the very least, in the web site; there should be people's representations in all government councils; a regular forum or question hour with the media; and business processes must be published in government offices' Citizens Charter displayed outside the offices. Sadly however to many government officials, good governance is just a theory in the books that university professors teach. The real university of experience teach them and other public servants otherwise. In Bohol it just so happens that the people saw in their government an honest effort to give them better life while the insurgents only give them promises.[109]

Recommendations

The author recommends that the Bohol counterinsurgency framework as presented in chapter 4 and discussed further in chapter 5 be considered as a guiding framework for the current Philippine counterinsurgency. To complement the counterinsurgency framework derived from Bohol counterinsurgency strategy, the author recommends the study of three specific topics. First is a study on the identification of economic drivers of the different provinces in the Philippines for the purpose clustering those that are related. Second is to determine the effectiveness of the Philippine disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration program to determine the most effective ways in implementing it at the provincial and municipal level. Third, is a study on how to optimize the employment of the military reservists on counterinsurgency.

Lastly, the author recommends the submission of this study to the Armed Forces of the Philippines training and doctrine command for further evaluation. Subsequently, the author intends to submit the findings of this study to the office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, Armed Forces of the Philippines as a resource material in the

[109]Romeo Teruel, Email correspondence with author, 17 May 2011.

continuing effort to find the best way to address the insurgency problem in the

Philippines. It is likewise recommended that the six-point counterinsurgency framework

derived from the study be called COIN4PHIL2011. Subsequent modification of the

framework shall be named by changing the year 2011 appropriately.

GLOSSARY

Affected Areas-villages subjected to CPP/NPA infiltration including those that have not yet been fully influenced

Barangay-the smallest local government unit in the Philippines equivalent to a village and headed by a Barangay Captain

Clearing-the process of regaining government control of a previously NPA-influenced area through a combination of combat and SOT operations

Communist Party of the Philippines-a Maoist-communist based organization organized to violently overthrow the legitimate government of the Philippines and instill a socialist-based organization.

Influenced Barangay-a village where a CPP/NPA political structure (a shadow government) with an armed militia has already been established

Insurgent Sympathizers-villagers who sympathize with the insurgents and provide any sort of support like giving information, food or doing errands

Jemaah Islamiyah-an Indonesian-based terrorist organization linked with Al Qaeda

Protracted War-an NPA strategy to avoid decisive confrontation with government forces in order to buy time to build-up their forces while expanding political clout. It does not preclude attacking target of opportunities deemed necessary to project an image of strength and accumulate firepower

Sectoral-various civil society groups such as the women's, farmers, business, youth, education, religious, peasants, out- of-school youth, senior citizens, etc

Special Operations Team-a minimum of 9-man military team capable of conducting a prolonged intelligence, psychological, and combat operations through a process of immersion within communist influenced community

Whole-of-Nation Approach-a natural progression and enhancement of the previously enunciated whole-of-government approach to internal security. While the latter only highlights the roles to be played by the various national government instrumentalities, the whole-of-nation approach presupposes that ordinary citizens and the entire Filipino nation are active contributors to internal peace and security.

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